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JOURNAL

OF

CAPT. JONATHAN HEART

ON THE MARCH WITH HIS COMPANY FROM CONNECTICUT TO
FORT PITT, IN PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA, FROM THE
SEVENTH OF SEPTEMBER, TO THE TWELFTH
OF OCTOBER, 1783, INCLUSIVE

TO WHICH IS ADDED THE

DICKINSON-HARMAR CORRESPONDENCE OF 1784-5

THE WHOLE ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES AND PRECEDED BY
A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CAPTAIN HEART

BY

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Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet," "Wash-
ington-Irvine Correspondence" and other works*



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PREFACE.

The Journal of Captain Jonathan Heart now given to the public, is a daily record kept by him on the march with his company from Connecticut to Fort Pitt, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, from the seventh of September, to the twelfth of October, 1785, inclusive; beginning, however, at New Windsor, Orange county, New York; as the first part is lost. The original of this Journal has been preserved, a copy of which is in the possession of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society; this has been annotated by me at the request of its President—Colonel Charles Whittlesey. Other Journals of Captain Heart (continuations, properly, of the one here printed) have been copied by the Society; and it is to be hoped they may soon be published.

The Dickinson-Harmer Correspondence is made to supplement the Journal of Captain Heart,—throwing light, as it does, upon affairs leading to, and resulting in the organization and marching westward of the “First American Regiment,”—of which Regiment, Captain Heart’s company formed a part. These letters clearly

reveal the aspect of affairs immediately after the close of the Revolution, concerning the relations existing between the General Government and the Indian tribes to the northward and westward. This Correspondence has also been illustrated with notes. A brief Biography of Captain Heart has been placed immediately preceding his Journal, which may possibly awaken an interest in the military career of one who gave his life largely to the service of his country and who died heroically in the defense of the rights of America.

C. W. B.

MADISON, WISCONSIN, *June*, 1885.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JONATHAN HEART.

Jonathan Heart, second son of Ebenezer Hart and his wife, Elizabeth Lawrence Hart, was born in that part of Farmington, Connecticut, called Kensington, in 1748. He received a classical education, graduating at Yale College with high honors, in the year 1768. Soon after this, he left his native State for New Jersey, where he was engaged at several places as district schoolmaster. This manner of occupation continued until about the year 1772, when young Heart, having accumulated a small sum of money, returned to Farmington, and at once engaged in mercantile operations. He was very successful, and was carrying on a flourishing trade, when the Revolutionary war broke out.

He immediately placed his business affairs in his brother's hands, and in 1775 enlisted as a private in Putnam's battalion of Connecticut militia. He marched with that command to the "seat of war," in Massachusetts, and participated in the battle of Bunker's Hill. When the Connecticut line was formed, Heart joined the 1st Regiment, and served in the same until the close of the war. From a private, he became an ensign, and in 1777 was made a lieutenant. This year he married Abigail Riley. In 1780, he was promoted to captain. During the year 1782, Captain Heart was with the army under Washington at Newburgh and Verplanck's Point, New York. On the 11th of November, that year, he was appointed by General Jedediah Huntington, Brigade Quartermaster of the Connecticut Brigade. He was a good penman and draughtsman, and has left a

valuable record of the operations on the Hudson (1782), including the organization of Washington's army, many of his orders, and details of the camp, not hitherto known.

Captain Heart was one of the very few officers retained by Congress in the service until after the ratification of the treaty of peace with Great Britain. He left the army in the fall of 1783, and returned to Connecticut. The misfortunes of war had ruined his business, and his pay, consisting of continental money, was almost worthless in value; as a consequence, Captain Heart found it necessary to begin anew in the struggles of life in the hope of obtaining a competency for advancing years. The shattered condition of trade, with a market flooded with depreciated currency, soon convinced him that merchandising on a small scale was up-hill work, and hardly remunerative. He therefore engaged with a surveyor to learn that art, and was advancing in a knowledge of it, when he received from Congress a commission as captain in the "First American Regiment"—a force just being organized for service on the western frontier. This was in the winter of 1784-5. Heart immediately accepted the appointment, and in obedience to instructions began to recruit in Connecticut. It was with difficulty that a company could be raised. Recruiting was very slow; and it was the last of August, 1785, before Heart was ready to march his command to the West.

Concerning Captain Heart's journey with his company to Fort Pitt, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he arrived the twelfth of October, his Journal immediately following this sketch furnishes the details so far as they are known. Soon after his arrival at that post, he was ordered to Fort McIntosh, where, with his company, he remained until the 25th of October. On that day, in obedience to orders from Lieut. Colonel Harmar, he set out with Major John Doughty, Lieut. James Bradford and Lieut. Ebenezer Frothingham for the mouth of the Muskingum, where they, with their respective commands, built Fort Harmar. Captain Heart was in command there from April 20th to the 6th of August, 1786, when he was ordered to protect the surveyors of the Ohio Company in their

work of surveying the Muskingum Valley. Captain Heart was engaged in this service until the 26th of November, when he returned with his command and the surveyors, to Fort Harmar.

In April, 1787, Captain Heart was ordered by Col. Harmar to the Venango country, Pennsylvania, for the purpose of building a fort on French Creek, near its mouth, about 150 miles above Pittsburgh. Heart arrived at his destination on the 11th of May, and immediately commenced the erection of an earthwork. This was completed in December, 1787, and named Fort Franklin, in honor of the illustrious patriot, philosopher and statesman, Benjamin Franklin. The vigilance, skill and care with which Captain Heart discharged his duty in the erection of the fort, was warmly applauded by General Harmar, General Knox and Congress. Fort Franklin became an important post and fully answered the purposes of its erection; which was, to check the northern Indians by way of the river Alleghany.

In 1788, Captain Heart left for Connecticut to recruit for his company. He returned to the West in the spring of 1789, and was ordered to Fort Harmar. In June, 1789, Heart with a portion of his command was engaged with Major Doughty in the erection of Fort Washington, on the site of the present city of Cincinnati. During that year, the constitution went into effect; Washington was chosen president; and the new government began its career of prosperity. On the 29th of September, 1789, President Washington commissioned Heart as captain in the First American Regiment. This was done agreeable to an Act of Congress re-organizing the army. He served in 1789, in an expedition to the falls of the Ohio, and in the campaign during the fall of the year 1790, under General Harmar, against the Indian towns at the junction of the Miami and St. Joseph rivers, near where the city of Fort Wayne now stands. Upon that occasion, he made a plan of Major Wyly's battle-ground, of the old French post, and of the Indian towns in the neighborhood.

Congress having raised an additional regiment, Captain Heart was, on the 4th of March, 1791, appointed major of the same. Not long after this appointment, preparations were made for St. Clair's campaign against the Indians. A force of over 1,400 men, consist-

ing of a battalion of the 2d United States Infantry, and militia from Kentucky, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and North Carolina, left Fort Washington in October, 1791, against the Indians of the Northwest. Major Heart was with this force, in command of a body of regulars. When near the sources of the Maumee river, in what is now Darke county, Ohio, St. Clair's army was surprised by the savages, and totally defeated, with a loss of 632 killed and 264 wounded.

During the engagement, Major Heart handled his men with consummate skill and bravery. He led them in person against the enemy, and put a number to flight through the energetic use of the bayonet. He had, thus far, escaped all harm; and when the order to retreat came, with the utmost coolness and gallantry he formed his men, and cautiously fell back toward the rear. He seemed careless as to his own life, his great desire being the safety of his men. When his troops, with a number of their wounded left the field, Major Heart was ordered, with a handful of men, to cover the retreat of the army. He endeavored to discharge that duty, but had hardly gone about the dangerous task, before a musket ball struck him in the head, and he fell from his horse. His men, alarmed at the near approach of the savages, left the spot immediately. A month afterward, a party of American regulars proceeded to the battle-ground to bury the dead, when the body of the brave Heart was found and recognized, and, with the remains of a number of his fellow officers, was sorrowfully laid in its last resting place.

In the Smithsonian Contributions for 1856, is a lengthy and valuable paper by Samuel F. Haven, the learned Secretary of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester. The following is an extract:

"During the year 1785 and 1786, letters from officers in the army to their friends at home, containing allusions to Indian antiquities, were published in the newspapers of the day. The accounts were often highly exaggerated, and gave rise to burlesque descriptions of wonderful adventures and discoveries that affected the credit of

well-founded narratives. General Samuel H. Parsons, an officer of standing and character, from Connecticut, gave to their observations an authentic character, in a communication addressed to President Willard, of Harvard College. In his letter, dated October 2, 1786, the mound at Grave creek is described, the works at Marietta are referred to, and mention is made of a plan of the latter, which the writer had previously sent to President Stiles, of New Haven. This communication was afterward published in the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. II, 1793, but without the plan.

"There is good reason to believe that the plan forwarded by General Parsons to President Stiles, is the same that may be found in the *Columbian Magazine* of May, 1787. This was drawn by Captain, afterward Major Heart, and is accompanied by an elaborate description. In the winter of 1786, President Stiles had written to Dr. Franklin, requesting his opinion of the fortifications at Muskingum, etc., described by General Parsons and others. It may be presumed that the drawing was sent at the same time, as it would be required, of course, to enable Franklin to form a judgment of the nature and object of the structures. Franklin might naturally transfer it to the editors of the magazine in Philadelphia for publication, as a matter of general interest and curiosity. It does not appear as a communication *from* Captain Heart, and is inserted without note or comment. General Parsons, who was but two days at Marietta, on his way down the river, speaks of having left at that place, a request with an officer of learning and great curiosity in his observations of the natural world, to inform him of his discoveries, from whom it would appear that much of his information had been derived. Captain Heart was stationed at Fort Harmar, on the opposite bank of the Muskingum, and subsequent papers, written by him, manifest the qualities attributed to the officer above alluded to.

"We may justly conclude that the plan in the *Columbian Magazine*, is the one referred to by Gen. Parsons, and that, next to the sketch of the works at Circleville in 1772, before mentioned, it is the earliest diagram made of western antiquities. Capt. Heart was

not only one of the earliest observers in this field of investigation, but manifested a zeal, intelligence, and comprehensiveness of research, that promised the most satisfactory results. A few years later (January, 1791), in reply to inquiries by Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, he wrote a paper, embodying much valuable information, that was read before the American Philosophical Society, and is included in the third volume of the transactions of that body. In this communication, he refers to a large number and variety of earthworks observed by himself and others in the western country, at the mouth of the Muskingum, at Grave creek, at Paint creek, and along the Scioto, also on the Kentucky side of the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Scioto (the last said to have been accurately traced by Col. George Morgan), and on the Great and Little Miami. He mentions that others have been described to him as situated on the Big Black river (the intended site of the colony from New England before the Revolution), at Bayou Pierre on the Mississippi, and on the head waters of the Yazoo and Mobile rivers.

"This was an extensive range for that period, and includes remains whose discovery has been ascribed to later explorers. Contrary to the general tendency of the time, the writer indulges in no visionary speculations, but simply gives his opinion that the earthworks were not constructed by De Soto, because he did not visit the regions where they are principally found, and had no time for such labors anywhere; that the state of the works and the trees growing on them indicated an origin prior to the discovery of America by Columbus; that they were not due to the present Indians or their predecessors, or some tradition would have remained of their uses; that they were not constructed by a people who procured the necessities of life by hunting, as a sufficient number to carry on such labors could not have subsisted in that way; and, lastly, that the people who constructed them were not altogether in an uncivilized state, as they must have been under the subordination of law, with a strict and well-governed police, or they could not have been kept together in such numerous bodies, and been made to contribute to the execution of such stupendous works. It is evident that, with the aid of persons so competent and so well

disposed to pursue such investigations as Captain Heart and General Parsons, a rational development of the nature, extent, and probable origin of our aboriginal antiquities, need not have been postponed for thirty years, which actually elapsed from this period before any detailed view of them was given to the public. Unhappily, both met with a premature and violent end. General Parsons was drowned in the Ohio, in December, 1789; and Heart, then a Major, was slain at the disastrous defeat of St. Clair, in November, 1791, when the flower of the western army were involved in the same destruction."

We add to the names of those officers given by Mr. Haven, who were greatly interested in the study and investigation of the earth-works, fortifications, mounds and other evidences of a former race once inhabiting this country, those of General Josiah Harmar and Lieutenant Ebenezer Frothingham. Gen. Harmar frequently sent out officers from Fort Harmar, well protected by detachments, to make investigations of the kind. Lieutenant Frothingham had gathered together a mass of material, at the request of learned gentlemen in the East, but his career was early closed, and his papers lost. He fell in Wyllys' battle, 22d October, 1790, during General Harmar's campaign against the Miami Indians.

General Harmar, in a letter dated Fort Pitt, March 17, 1787, to General Thomas Mifflin, of Philadelphia, says: "Be pleased to view the inclosed plan of the remains of some ancient works on the Muskingum, taken by a Captain of mine [Heart], with his explanations. "Various are the conjectures concerning these fortifications. From their regularity I conceive them to be the works of some civilized people. Who they were I know not. Certain it is, the present race of savages are strangers to any thing of the kind." In a letter to General Knox, Secretary of War, dated Fort Pitt, April 26, 1788, General Harmar writes: "Be pleased to receive a profile of the north view of Captain Heart's works [Fort Franklin]. I have directed Captain Heart to make out a map of the country from Venango to Lake Erie, which I shall shortly have the honor of transmitting to you." On the 28th of July, 1788, General Har-

mar acknowledged the receipt from Captain Heart, of a view of the works on French creek and a map inscribed to President Franklin. Major Heart also drew a plan of the old French works at Venango, one of Fort Pitt, one of Fort Harmar and Campus Martius, and one of Fort Washington. He also furnished a map of the Muskingum Valley to the Ohio Company, and several rough drafts of the country watered by the Cuyahoga river.

The widow of Major Heart married the Rev. Cyprian Strong, of Chatham, Conn., August 3, 1797. Major Heart left one child only, named Alces Everlin, who was born October 10, 1782. He was married to Charlotte Overton, but had no children. "At probate court, Farmington, Conn., July 5, 1792, administration was granted to Abigail Heart, on the estate of Jonathan Heart, late of Berlin [formerly Kensington] deceased, and June 4, 1794, she was appointed guardian to [Alces] Everlin Heart [her son], a minor of the said town of Berlin, and in the probate district of Farmington."

The following account of the charge made by Major Heart at St. Clair's defeat, is from the *Connecticut Gazette*, published by John M. Niles and J. T. Pease, in 1819, at Hartford, Connecticut:

"When all were in confusion and dismay, Major Heart was ordered to charge the enemy with the bayonet, with a view to facilitate a retreat, or rather a flight, to the shattered remains of the army. This charge was made with gallantry and spirit, under circumstances which language is too feeble to describe,—the desolation of the place, the confusion of the scene, and the whoop and yells of a savage foe flushed with victory and thirsting for blood, the general consternation which prevailed, and the groans of the dying in every direction. But the intrepid Major and almost every man of his party were killed in the desperate enterprise."

While Major Heart was marching up and down the rivers of Ohio and perambulating the country as a soldier, he had a good opportunity to observe the soil, climate and value of the lands with reference to the claims of Connecticut for the Reserve; and the commissioners who had the location of those claims in charge, wisely availed themselves of his knowledge. He wrote some thirty letters

to his friend, William Judd, of Farmington, Connecticut, on the subject, and these letters are still in good condition, preserved by the posterity of Major Judd. Major Heart was the soul of honor. He was beloved by his men and no officer stood higher on the rolls of the military establishment. He left behind him many valuable letters and manuscripts, all of which indicate an amiable disposition, strict integrity, and high intelligence.

NOTE.—For the larger part of the foregoing sketch, I am indebted to an historical contribution prepared by the lamented Alfred T. Goodman while Secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society, for one of the local papers of Ohio. I have also drawn from Andrews' Genealogical History of Deacon Stephen Hart; from Barber's Connecticut Historical Collections; from a Gazetteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island (Hartford: 1819); from Tract No. 32, of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society; and from the American Historical Record, Vol. iii., 1874.—Ed.



Heart's Journal.

JOURNAL OF CAPT. JONATHAN HEART, U. S. A., ON
HIS MARCH WITH HIS COMPANY FROM CONNECT-
ICUT TO FORT PITT (PITTSBURGH), FROM SEPT. 7,
TO OCT. 12, 1785, INCLUSIVE.²

¹ The first five leaves of the Journal are missing.

² That the reader may get, at once, a general idea of Capt. Heart's route, the principal places through which he marched his company are subjoined, with the counties and states in which they are now located :

New Windsor,	Orange	county,	N. Y.
Chester,	"	"	"
Warwick,	"	"	"
Hope,	Warren	"	N. J.
Oxford,	"	"	"
Easton,	Northampton	"	Pa.
Bethlehem,	"	"	"
Allentown,	Lehigh	"	"
Reading,	Berks	"	"
Lebanon,	Lebanon	"	"
Harrisburg,	Dauphin	"	"
Carlisle,	Cumberland	"	"
Fort Loudon,	Franklin	"	"
Bedford,	Bedford	"	"
Fort Ligonier,	Westmoreland	"	"
To Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh),	Allegheny	"	"

After Orders. EDMUNSTONE'S TAVERN (3 Miles from N. Windsor¹),

September 7, 1785.

The Company will march to-morrow morning at 3 o'clock, in same order as this day. Route: Bethlehem², 3 miles; Blooming Green³, 6; Wanmer's, 3. Total—12 miles.

QUARTERS, WANMER'S,

September 8, 1785.

Company marches at sunrise. Route: to Chester⁴, 3

¹ New Windsor. This village is situated in the town of the same name, Orange county, N. Y., on the Hudson river and on the Newburgh and New York railway, about one mile south of the south boundary line of Newburgh. It is probable that Capt. Heart and his company were ferried across the Hudson from the east side, at this point.

² Bethlehem is a neighborhood in the northwest part of the town of Cornwall, Orange county, N. Y., on the public road leading from New Windsor to Goshen, about five miles southwest of the former place.

³ Blooming Grove, called by Capt. Heart Blooming Green, is a hamlet nearly central, east and west, in the town of the same name, in Orange county, N. Y. It is located in the valley of the southern branch of the Otterkill, a branch usually known as the Schunemunk.

⁴ Chester, of 1785, is the village that grew up on the Yelverton estate, at the corners, in the town of the same name, in Orange county, N. Y., about a mile from the Erie depot.

miles; Warwick¹, 9; Doctor Hinksman's², 6. Total—18 miles.

QUARTERS, HINKSMAN'S TAVERN (Hadestown),

September 9, 1785.

James French, for stealing a whip, [was] tried at the Drum Head, found guilty, and sentenced to run the gantlet. The Captain approves the sentence and orders it put in execution this evening at retreat beating. The Company marches to-morrow morning at sunrise. Route: to Walsingham, 8 miles; Carey's Tavern, 3. Total—11 miles.

QUARTERS, CAREY'S TAVERN,

Saturday, September 10, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning one hour

¹ Warwick village—the place noted by Capt. Heart—is located nearly in the center of the town of the same name, about eleven miles south of Goshen, the county-seat of Orange county, N. Y. Warwick creek flows along its eastern suburb. The village was not incorporated until April 15, 1867. A reference to the map of Orange county will show that the route of Capt. Heart from New Windsor until he crossed the line into New Jersey, was nearly southwest.

² This place must have been located in Sussex county, N. J., as the distance from Warwick (six miles) would take the traveler across the state line. It will be noticed that Capt. Heart immediately after speaks of the place as "Hinksman's Tavern (Hades-town)."

before sunrise. Route : Sussex¹, 10 miles ; ———
Town², 10. Total—20 miles.

QUARTERS, ——— TOWN,

September 11, 1785.

Company marches to-morrow morning the same time as this day. Route : Moravian Town (*alias* Hope³), 6

¹Sussex, now Newton, county-seat of Sussex county, N. J., was, at that date, usually called Sussex Court-House. However, upon Lewis Evans' Map of the Middle British Colonies, of 1755, and upon the map of New Jersey, in the American Atlas, by Thomas Jeffreys, of 1778, it is noted simply as "Sussex," as in this Journal by Capt. Heart. The place had, at this period, besides the court-house, one tavern and a few "indifferent houses."

²The name of the "Town" thus left a blank in the Journal of Capt. Heart, was "Log Town" or "Log Jail," now Johnsonburg, in the township of Frelinghuysen, Warren county, N. J. This "Town" was the county-seat of Sussex county (including the present Warren) from Nov., 1753 to February, 1756, when it was removed to "Sussex"—now Newton. Courts were held in a private house near the "log jail." Manasseh Cutler, in July, 1788, wrote : "From this [Sussex Court House], the road is tolerably good to Log Jail, ten miles ; very few houses and these mostly humble huts. At Log Jail, or Log Town, is a miserable tavern kept by Jones, a Jew. We could get nothing but oats and water, neither hay nor grass. Another tavern here but no better."

³Moravians came to what is now Hope village, Hope township, Warren county, N. J., in 1769, from Bethlehem, Pa., purchasing a considerable tract of land ; hence the name "Moravian Town," in the Journal of Capt. Heart. These people left in 1805 or 1806 ; but the name "Hope," given to the place by them, is still retained. "Six miles from Log Town is *Hope*, commonly called Moravian

miles ; Harwick, 5 miles ; Oxford¹, 7. Total—18 miles.

QUARTERS, OXFORD,

Monday, September 12, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning same as this day. Route: East Town², 10 miles; Bethle-

Town. This is a small, new, but very pretty village. Houses mostly stone, built in Dutch style. The Church, or Chapel, is a very handsome building on the top of the hill. We put up at Gambolt's. While dinner was preparing, we went to the Church."

—*Manasseh Cutler, 1788.*

¹ Oxford, known sometime as "Old Oxford," but more familiarly known in early days as "Hog Holler," has lately assumed the name of "Hazen Post-Office." It is in Oxford township, Warren county, N. J. Says Cutler, in his Journal, in 1788: "From this ["Hope"], we came on twelve miles to White's, in Oxford township ; road not bad, but some parts of it rocky ; put up for the night ; White is very obliging ; good tavern for this country ; beds pretty good."

² Easton, Pa. It is the seat of justice of Northampton county, and is situated at the confluence of the Delaware and Lehigh. It was first laid out in 1752. Cutler, on the 31st of July, 1788, made this entry in his Journal : "Set out this morning just after sunrise [from Oxford—or, as he calls it, 'White's, in Oxford township—'], twelve miles to East Town ; road not good. Crossed the Delaware in a good ferry-boat ; [the river] not wide. The Lehigh river enters the Delaware just below where we landed on the Pennsylvania side, called 'The Forks.' As soon as we were over the river, we entered East Town, which is a very pretty village ; houses all stone in the Dutch style ; a handsome Court House and Dutch Churches ; there are two ministers ; every third Sunday preaching in English. We breakfasted at Hembt's tavern beyond the Court House. Could

hem¹, 12 miles. Total—22 miles.

QUARTERS, BETHLEHEM,

Tuesday, September 13, 1785.

The Company remains at this point [to] wash and clean themselves.

get no hay nor grass, but were furnished with a good breakfast, bacon and eggs, beef and sausages in slices raw, green tea, etc."

Capt. Heart had now marched from the Hudson to the Delaware, a distance, according to his computation, of 89 miles. In traveling from New Windsor to Warwick, in Orange county, N. Y., by way of Edmunstone's Tavern, Bethlehem, Blooming Grove, Wanmer's and Chester, it was a considerable saving of distance from the circuitous route by way of Goshen. By the latter road, it is put down on the maps of a few years later as 93 miles from New Windsor, N. Y., to Phillipsburg, opposite "East Town," thus: to Goshen, 20 miles; Warwick, 10; Hamburg, 11; Newton, 13; Johnsonburg, 10; Hope, 7; Belvidere, 10; Phillipsburg, 12 miles.—Total, 93 miles.

Easton was named by Thomas Penn, who, in a letter dated September 8, 1751, written in England to Governor Hamilton, said: "Sometime since, I wrote Dr. Graeme and Mr. Peters to lay out some ground in the forks of Delaware for a town, which I suppose they have done, or begun to do. I desire it may be called Easton, from my Lord Pomfret's house." As early as 1739, one David Martin, of Trenton, had been granted a patent for ferrying over the Delaware at this point.

Bethlehem (*Beit-el-Lehm*, the "house of bread") is a post-borough and summer resort of Northampton county, Pa., situated on the left bank of the Lehigh river, in Bethlehem township, five miles east of Allentown, fifty-five miles north of Philadelphia, and twelve miles southwest of Easton. It is the oldest and principal town of the Moravians in the United States. It was begun to be built in March, 1741.

QUARTERS, BETHLEHEM,

Wednesday, September 14, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock. Route: Allenstown¹, 6 miles; Great Spring, 8; County Line², 4. Total—18 miles.

QUARTERS, COUNTY LINE,

September 15, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning one hour before sunrise. Route: to Kirbytown, 6 miles; Maiden Creek³ on the Schuylkill, 12. Total—18 miles.

QUARTERS, MAIDEN CREEK,

September 16, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning. Rainy day but we march. [Route: Reading, 7 miles].

¹This place is noted on some early maps as "Allenstown," as given above. It was laid out by James Allen in 1762, and is now the beautiful city of Allentown, Lehigh county, Pa. It is mostly situated on a wide plateau, on the right bank of the Lehigh river.

²By "County Line" is meant not the west line of what is *now* Lehigh county, but what was *then* Northampton county.

³In what is now Ontelaunee township, Berks county, Pa., on the east side of Schuylkill river. Thus far, the general course of the route through Pennsylvania had been southwest; but here the road turned nearly south to Reading. The stream is still known as Maiden creek.

QUARTERS, READING¹,

Saturday, September 17, 1785.

The Company remains at this place till further orders (delayed for wagons).

QUARTERS, READING,

Sunday, September 18, 1785.

The Company will hold themselves in readiness to march to-morrow morning. (Still delayed for wagons).

QUARTERS, READING,

Monday, September 19, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning at sunrise. Route: Middletown², 14 miles.

¹ Now the city of the same name, the seat of justice of Berks county, Pa. The town was first laid out in 1748, by Richard and Thomas Penn. It was incorporated as a borough in 1783; as a city, in 1847. It is situated on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill river, fifty-two miles (fifty-four by railroad) east of Harrisburg, and fifty-two miles (fifty-eight by railroad) northwest of Philadelphia.

² This place was *generally* so called at the time of the visit of Capt. Heart because of its being *midway* between Reading and Lebanon, but its real name was Wommelsdorf, from John Wommelsdorf, who laid out the town; and it is now thus known. It is in Berks county, Pa., eighty-eight miles east of Harrisburg: "Lodged at night," says Col. John May, in his Journal of 1788, "in a little village called Wolfendorf [Wommelsdorf]—the English name, Middle-town."

QUARTERS, MIDDLETOWN,

September 20, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning at sunrise.
Route : Meyerstown¹, 7 miles ; Lebanon² 7. Total—14 miles. (Rained and did not march till 12 o'clock.)

QUARTERS, LEBANON,

Wednesday, September 21, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning before sunrise. Route : to Homestown³, 18 miles.

QUARTERS, HOMESTOWN,

Thursday, September 22, 1785.

The Company marches at sunrise to-morrow morning.

¹ Myerstown, on the Lebanon Valley railroad, seven miles from the county-seat, was laid out by Isaac Myers, about 1768. It is located on the head waters of the Tulpehocken and is the present seat of Palatinate college. It is in Lebanon county, Pa.

² The borough of "Lebanon town, in Lancaster county, Lebanon township," laid out about the year 1750, is now the city of Lebanon, county-seat of Lebanon county, Pa. The village was for a long time known as Steitztown, from George Steitz who was its founder.

³ Hummelstown. It was laid out by Frederick Hummel, October 26, 1762. It is located nine miles east of Harrisburg, in Derry township, Dauphin county, Pa., on the Reading turnpike, and on the Philadelphia and Reading railroad. It was for many years called Frederickstown. The Swatara creek, along which runs the Union canal, is close by the town.

Route : Harris's Ferry¹, 9 miles ; Major Reed's², 14 miles.
Total—23 miles (and one mile ferry.)

¹ Near what is now Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania and seat of justice of Dauphin county, situated on the east bank of the Susquehanna river. John Harris, Jr., by a grant obtained February 19, 1753, was allowed the privilege of running a ferry across the Susquehanna at this point ; hence the name—"Harris's Ferry." A town was laid out here in the spring of 1785 and named Harrisburg. It was made a borough April 13, 1791 ; and the capital of the State, in 1810. It was incorporated as a city in 1860.

On the 14th of August, 1788, Colonel John May, in his Journal, says : "Slept at Harristown [Harrisburg] on the east bank [of the Susquehanna]. This place [was] laid out for a town within these three years, and has now a number of good brick buildings and a good tavern for travelers. There are, in fact, several taverns in the place. It is situated on a very agreeable spot, with two handsome islands in front. The river here [is] about a mile wide. This place has a good market-house and the foundation for another laid." And thus Dr. Cutler, of the same year :

"This is a beautiful town ; it contains one hundred houses, all built in less than three years ; many of them brick, some of them three story, built in the Philadelphia style ; all appear very neat. A great number of taverns with handsome signs. Houses all two story, large windows. About one-half the people are English ; people were going to meeting ; they meet in private houses ; have no churches yet. People appear very well dressed, some gay."

² Now Middlesex, a post village on the turnpike from Harrisburg to Carlisle, three miles from the last mentioned town. It is near the confluence of Le Tort's creek with the Conedogwinit. (See, also, the note following.)

QUARTERS, MAJOR REED'S—CHAMBERSBURG¹,

Friday, September 23, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow to Carlisle², 3 miles.
Very rainy; did not march till 12 o'clock.

CARLISLE,

Saturday, September 24, 1785.

Company march to-morrow morning [at] 10 o'clock.

¹ On old maps, we note, three miles from Carlisle, "Chamber's Mill,"—doubtless the same as "Chambersburg" in Heart's Journal, now Middlesex. (See preceding note.)

² Carlisle, the county-seat of Cumberland county, Pa., was laid out in 1751. A survey of the town and lands adjacent was made by John Armstrong in 1762. In 1753, there were only five dwellings here. There was a block-house, or stockade, called "Fort Lowther," erected during the same year. The United States barracks, located about one-half mile from the court house, were built in 1777, by Hessians captured at Trenton. These barracks were, for many years, a school for cavalry. They were burned in June, 1863. Dickinson college, located at Carlisle, was chartered in 1783, two years before Capt. Heart passed through the place with his company.

Arthur Lee, in his Journal, Nov. 24, 1784, less than a year previous to Capt. Heart's marching through the town, says: "Carlisle is in the county of Cumberland [Pa.], and has been settled about thirty-two years. It has about one hundred and fifty good stone houses. There is here a very complete set of buildings for arsenals, raised at Continental expense but not used and therefore going to ruin. Gen. Armstrong, Gen. Irwin [Irvine], and Gen. [Richard] Butler, reside here, and several other gentlemen, forming a society; but they have neither coffee-house, post, nor newspapers."

Route : Mount Rock¹, 7 miles.

MOUNT ROCK,

Sunday, September 25, 1785.

Company marches one hour before sunrise. Route : Shippensburg², 14 miles; Esquire Finley's, 7 miles. Total—21 miles.

QUARTERS, ESQUIRE FINLEY'S,

Monday, September 26th, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning at sunrise.

¹ Mount Rock, a post-hamlet of Cumberland county, Pa., is two miles from Kerrsville station on the Cumberland Valley railroad, and seven miles west-southwest of Carlisle. It has now a church and a few houses.

² Shippensburg, on the western border of Cumberland county, as now bounded, is the oldest town west of the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania, except York. Before Carlisle became the seat of justice, Shippensburg was the county-seat. Fort Morris was erected here in 1755 and Fort Franklin the next year. These were mere stockades. The town was incorporated into a borough in 1817. It is twenty-one miles (as indicated by Capt. Heart) from Carlisle, in a southwest direction, on the Cumberland Valley railroad.

Arthur Lee, Nov. 24, 1784, in his Journal, before cited, speaks of Shippensburg as "a handsome little town about four miles from the Conedogwinit on the north, and the Yellow Breeches creek, which issues from a small but very deep lake, on the south, and runs into the Susquehanna."

Route: Pibles, on the Head of South Branch of Conocojig¹, 6 miles; Fort Loudon², 9; Harris's on West Branch Conocojig³, 2½. Total—17½ miles.

The improper use of spirituous liquors being attended with summary fatal consequences, it is ordered in future that any soldier found drunk shall be debarred from the privilege of drawing his allowance of whiskey for one week.

QUARTERS, HARRIS'S⁴,

Tuesday, September 27, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning at sunrise.

¹ Capt. Heart wrote the word as he heard it pronounced. It should have been written Conococheague.

² In explanation of the route as given by Capt. Heart from Shipensburg to Fort Loudon,—twenty-two miles—it may be said that the road traveled by him after leaving the former place, ran in a southwest direction a short distance, when it branched:—one road leading more to the south to Chambersburg; the other running more westerly, some distance and then turning nearly north to Fort Loudon. It was on the last mentioned road that Capt. Heart marched. Fort Loudon was about a mile southeast from what is now the village of Loudon, in Peters township, Franklin county, Pa. It was an important post during the French and Indian war and Pontiac's war which followed. The fort appears to have been commenced under the direction of Col. John Armstrong, in the autumn of 1756. It was named in honor of John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, appointed March 20, 1756, commander-in-chief of all the English forces in North America.

³ The road from Fort Loudon took a northerly course up the West Branch of the Conococheague.

⁴ On West Branch "Conocojig."

Route: up Path Valley¹, 5 miles; Burnt Cabins², 7 miles. Total—12 miles.

QUARTERS, BURNT CABINS,

September 28, 1785.

The Company marches to Fort Littleton and there halts for the day to wash and clean themselves,—4 miles.

QUARTERS, FORT LITTLETON³,

Thursday, September 29, 1785.

Sergeant Francis Jackson, for striking with his sword

¹ Path Valley, in Franklin county, Pa., is bounded on the north-west by the Tuscarora mountains. It is on the western borders of the county, mostly in what are now Metal and Fannet townships.

² Burnt Cabins is a post hamlet of Fulton county, Pa., in what is now Dublin township. In reaching this point from Path Valley, Capt. Heart crossed, with his company, the Tuscarora mountains.

³ A fort was built at what is now the village of Fort Littleton, in Dublin township, Fulton county, Pa., about the beginning of the year 1756, and called "Fort Lyttleton;" but it was generally spelled with an *i* instead of *y*. It was a post of importance during the French and Indian war and Pontiac's war. (A plan of the fort is given in Egle's History of Pennsylvania, p. 765.) Capt. Heart's route from Fort Loudon to Burnt Cabins was nearly north; from the latter point to Fort Littleton, it was southwest.

"From thence [that is, from Shippensburg] the road led us the next day [Nov. 25, 1784] across the North Mountain into what is called the Horse Valley, made by that and the next mountain, which we crossed into the Path Valley, through which runs the Conoco-

and wounding Mr. Beating Wagoner, [was] tried at the Drum Head and sentenced to be reduced to a private sentinel and pay costs and damage by stopages from his pay. The sentence is approved. The Company marches to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock. Route: the bottom of Sideling Hill¹, 9½ miles; top of Sideling Hill, 3. Total—12½ miles.

· QUARTERS, TOP SIDELING HILL,

Friday, September 30, 1785.

Jose Gilbert, for getting drunk, has his whiskey stopped one week.

The Company marches to-morrow morning at sunrise. Route: Bottom of Ray's Hill², 4 miles; Jun-

cheague, which empties into the Potomac. We crossed next the Tuscarora mountain, on the top of which the line runs which divides the counties of Cumberland and Bedford, which latter [county] we entered on descending the mountain, and lodged at Fort Lyttleton. These mountains are so steep that it is necessary to walk up and down them. Fort Lyttleton was built by the British in a former war, as a protection to the frontier settlements; but the Indians murdered both soldiers and inhabitants."

—*Journal of Arthur Lee.*

Col. John May, in his Journal, August 13, 1788, says: "Breakfasted at Fort Littleton, at Captain Burd's, in a really elegant manner, on fine coffee, loaf-sugar, venison, shad, and smoked shad."

¹ Sideling Hill ranges along the western part of what is now Fulton county in a northeasterly and southwesterly direction.

² Ray's Hill, a mountainous ridge, bounds Fulton county, Pa., on the west. The place that Capt. Heart mentions as the "Bottom

iata¹, 3 miles; Bloody Run², 7 miles. Total—14 miles.

QUARTERS, BLOODY RUN,

Saturday, October 1, 1785.

Company marches to-morrow morning at sunrise.
Route: Bedford³, 8 miles; Bennett's, at the Forks of

of Ray's Hill," was in what is now Brush Creek township, that county. Crossing this "Hill" he was in what was then, and is now, Bedford county, Pa.

¹ Now known as the Raystown Branch of the Juniata river. It rises in the main range of the Alleghany mountains, near the east border of Somerset county, Pa., runs through the middle of Bedford county, and enters the Juniata not far below Huntingdon. Where the stream was crossed by Capt. Heart and his company was in what is now East Providence township, Bedford county.

² This "Run" is still so called. At Everett, Bedford county, Pa., it enters the Raystown Branch of the Juniata. The Run was thus named because of early settlers having been killed by the Indians. A hamlet called "Bloody Run," located on the stream, grew into a village, and afterward was incorporated as a borough. A few years ago the name was changed to one more euphonious—Everett. It is eight miles east of Bedford, Pa. In Thomas Jeffreys' "American Atlas" of 1778, the place is noted as "Tusseys."

"27th [of Nov., 1784]. We crossed the mountain called Sideling Hill, and the Juniata [the Raystown Branch] to Bedford. Nine miles before coming to this place [Bedford], we crossed Bloody Run, so called from the murder of several white people there by the Indians."—*Arthur Lee's Journal*.

³ Bedford, county-seat of Bedford county, was, at an early day, called Raystown. It is so designated on Lewis Evans' "Map of

Glade and Pennsylvania Road¹, 4 miles. Total—12 miles.

QUARTERS, BENNETT'S,

Sunday, October 2, 1785.

Company marches to-morrow morning at sunrise.
Route: Foot of Alleghany Mountains.² (Did not march

the Middle British Provinces," of 1755. A fort was erected here during the French and Indian war. The town of Bedford was laid out in June, 1766, and incorporated as a borough in 1795. It is situated on the Raystown Branch of the Juniata—two hundred miles from Philadelphia, and one hundred from Pittsburgh. Bedford Springs, a celebrated watering place, is about a mile and a half south of Bedford.

Lee, in his Journal, Nov. 24, 1784, says: "Bedford is the capital of the county, and is a thriving little town on the Juniata [Raystown Branch], with good meadow grounds around it. There are yet traces of the redoubts thrown up here by the British after Braddock's defeat, Gen. Forbes, who commanded next, having made this the rendezvous of the army in 1758."

¹ In May, 1755, the province of Pennsylvania agreed to send out three hundred men in order to cut a wagon road from Fort Loudon to join Braddock's road, near the Turkey-foot, or three forks of the Youghiogheny. This was the "Glade road." In September, 1758, Gen. John Forbes, on his way to attack Fort Duquesne, began, at a point on the "Glade road," four miles from Bedford, a road more to the northward, which would reach the Ohio at a less distance than by the other route. This was the "Pennsylvania road" spoken of by Capt. Heart, and was the one traveled by him thence to Pittsburgh.

² These mountains have a northeasterly and southwesterly trend, nearly parallel with the ranges of hills to the eastward.

"I left the settled parts of Pennsylvania the latter part of

on account of rains till 1 o'clock.) Halted at Anderson's, 5 miles.

QUARTERS, ANDERSON'S,

Monday, October 3, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning at sunrise. Route: Foot of Alleghany Mountains 6 miles; Top of Mountains 6 miles. Total—12 miles. James Kingsley and

October last [1785—only a few days after Capt. Heart and his company had passed through]: and not to mention the large limestone springs frequently to be found in the county of Cumberland, sufficient to turn mills within a few rods of their issuing from the ground, and other curiosities I never saw before; about the 25th of that month, I passed the Alleghany mountains, in the old Pennsylvania road. The ascent of about three miles is gradual and easy. On the summit is a large extent of land comparatively plain. It is about eight miles from the top of the mount on the east, to the beginning of the descent on the west; whence to the level on that side is about two miles and a half. This extent contains almost all soils and descriptions of land; from the sandy pitch pine barrens and stony heath, where there is no apparent moisture; to a fine ploughland and luxuriant pasture and mowing, as I had before seen.

“On this mount are several mill streams, and springs of excellent water. It is observable, that the ascent of all those hills and mountains from the east, is greater than the descent on the west: and from the extensive grand view on the top of the mount, from which the country on the west and on the east is seen to a great distance, it is clearly discovered, that the level of the country on the west, is vastly higher than the level on the east of the mountains.”—Samuel H. Parsons, in “Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,” Vol. ii, Part I (1793), pp. 119, 120.

Pat Colbert, for selling their public shoes, tried, plead guilty and sentenced to run the gantlet and to be put under stoppage for payment for the same. Sentence is approved; but from the former good character of Kingsley, and as it is the first crime of the nature committed in the Company, the Captain is induced to suspend the punishment on their future [good conduct. He desires] to remind the men that the disposing of public clothing or even wasting them improperly is a crime subjecting [them] to the severest punishment by law martial, and they may depend any future instances of like conduct will not find a pardon. Corporal Wm. Armstrong is promoted to a Sergeant; is to do duty and [be] respected accordingly.

QUARTERS,

Tuesday, October 4, 1785.

Company will halt on the ground till further orders.

Morning Orders, 5th October. Company marches at 12 o'clock. Route: to Miller's, west side Edward's Swamp¹, 4 miles.

QUARTERS, EDWARD'S SWAMP,

Wednesday, October 5, 1785.

Company marches to-morrow morning at sunrise.

¹ This "Swamp," was in what is now Somerset county, Pa. It is put down in Jeffreys' Atlas of 1778, as "Edmund's Swamp." The road passed through it in a northwesterly direction.

Route : Stony Creek¹, 5 miles ; Foot of Laurel Hill², 7

¹ This creek rises in the southeastern portion of Somerset county, runs nearly a north course until it finally, with another stream—the Quemahoning—forms Paint creek, a tributary of the Conemaugh ; so that they were now upon the waters which flowed into the Gulf of Mexico.

Arthur Lee, in his Journal (extracts from which have already been given), in speaking of his journey from Bedford to Stony Creek, on the 28th of Nov., 1784, says :

“ Leaving Bedford we again crossed the [Raystown Branch of the] Juniata and traversed the Alleghany mountain to Stony Creek. On the road we saw the marks of a most tremendous whirlwind which happened last year and in its course tore up by the roots or twisted off every tree, however large. Numbers of the largest were laid down by each other, as if strewn by the whirlwind with as much ease as so many straws scattered by a light wind. The ascent of this mountain is very steep, but it is rendered easy by trailing it properly. On the top is a level of many miles, and through it runs the principal branch of the Juniata. It is loaded with chestnut and oak, very large. The snow was about one foot deep on the mountain ; and yet the weather [was] so mild that I traveled without a great coat. The road on the top of this mountain, and in descending it, and thence to Stony Creek, is miry and stony, and leads through a number of dismal

“ ‘ Fogs, bogs, fens and shades of death.’ ”

² The Laurel Hill, in Pennsylvania, is a mountainous range, having a northeasterly and southwesterly trend, parallel to the Alleghany mountains proper, but on the other (or west) side of Somerset county.

“ On the 29th [of Nov., 1784] ” says Lee, “ we traversed a part of the Alleghany, called ‘ Laurel Hill,’ from an abundance of what is called in Virginia, ‘ ivy,’ growing upon it. On this mountain, St. Jocelin was attacked and killed by the Indians ; but his convoy was saved. On this mountain, Capt. Bullet was attacked and put to flight, by a party of Indians, within two miles of [Fort] Ligonier.”

miles. Total—12 miles. (Rainy night and did not march till 10 o'clock and halted two miles from Stony Creek and encamped. Total—7 miles.)

QUARTERS, ENCAMPMENT,

Thursday, October 6, 1785.

Company marches to-morrow morning at sunrise. Route: Foot of Laurel Hill, 7 miles; up Laurel Hill¹, 4 miles. Total—11 miles.

ENCAMPED, TOP LAUREL HILL,

October 7, 1785.

Company march to-morrow morning at sunrise. Route: Fort Ligonier², 7 miles; 4 Mile Run, 4 miles. Total—11 miles.

¹ Capt. Heart was here met by Lieut. Col. Josiah Harmar, returning to Philadelphia, as will appear by reference to the letter of the latter, of October 22, 1785, to Gen. Knox, hereafter given, in this book, in the "Dickinson-Harmar Correspondence."

² Fort Ligonier was located on the east side of the Loyalhanna creek, in what is now Ligonier township, Westmoreland county, Pa. It was erected in 1758 and played an important part in Pontiac's war and in the war of the Revolution. It was near the site of the present village of the same name.

"At another time [the writer having just spoken of an attack on Capt. Bullet, by the Indians] the savages attacked the hospital that was going from the fort [Ligonier] and massacred the sick. At night, we reached Fort Ligonier, built in 1758, by Gen. Forbes as a station, in his progress against Fort Pitt [Fort Duquesne]. It [Fort Ligonier] was frequently attacked by the French and Indians and many of its troops killed. A very good and capacious stockade

QUARTERS, 4 MILE RUN¹,*Saturday, October 8, 1785.*

Company march to-morrow morning at sunrise. Route : 9 Mile Run, 5 miles; 12 Mile Run, 3 miles, Hannastown², 3½ miles. Total—[11½ miles].

fort was raised there during the late [Revolutionary] war as a defence against Indian incursions. But they massacred the inhabitants as far as Bedford, having passed the fort through the woods and over the mountains.”—*Arthur Lee, Nov. 29, 1784.*

¹ Four Mile Run, Nine Mile Run, and Twelve Mile Run, are all “Runs” flowing to the northward into the Loyalhanna. They got their names from their respective distances from Fort Ligonier. Immediately across the last mentioned “Run” and on the west side, was “Proctor’s.”

² Hannastown, or, simply, “Hanna’s,” as it was sometimes called, was thus named in honor of Robert Hanna, its first resident. It had been since the organization of Westmoreland county, in 1773, the county-seat of that county; but in July, 1782, it was nearly destroyed by the Indians. Its locality (which is still given on some of the maps of the county) was on the “Forbes road,” about three miles northeast of what is now Greensburg, the seat of justice of the county. It was located in the present township of Hempfield, near its northern boundary.

“On the 30th [of Nov., 1784],” writes Lee, “we crossed the Loyalhanna, the Chestnut Hill (or mountain), to Hannah’s town [Hannastown]. This place and the neighborhood felt the weight of the late [Revolutionary] war. The Indians under the command of refugees and white men, to the number of three hundred, beset the town, burnt all the houses not under the protection of the stockaded fort [Reed], and carried away about twenty prisoners. [This is not exactly correct.] From this place to Fort Pitt, the inhabitants were almost all driven off by the Indians.”

QUARTERS, HANNASTOWN,

Sunday, October 9, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning at sunrise.
Route: Bushy Run¹, 10 miles; to Cook's, 4 miles. Total—
14 miles.

QUARTERS, COOK'S,

Monday, October 10, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning at day light, leaving the tents standing with the guards who will load the wagons and join the Company at Widow Myers'², where the Company halts for the day to rest and clean. [Route: to Widow Myers',— miles.]

QUARTERS, WIDOW MYERS',

Tuesday, October 11, 1785.

The Company marches to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock.
Route: Bullock Pens³, 6 miles; Fort Pitt, 6 miles.
Total—12 miles.

¹ Capt. Heart and his company were then in what is, at the present time, Penn township, Westmoreland county, Pa. It was near this Run, that Col. Henry Bouquet fought on the 5th and 6th of August, 1763, the combined forces of Delawares, Shawanese, Mingoes, Wyandots, Mohicans, Miamis and Ottawas, and defeated them.

² At first known as "Myers' Tavern."

³ Deposition of William Elliot, taken at Pittsburgh, March 10, 1777 :

"William Elliot deposed that he settled and improved a planta-

QUARTERS, FORT PITT¹,

Wednesday, October 12, 1785.

The Company will remain on the ground until further orders.

tion about seven miles from Fort Pitt on the public road at a place called 'the Bullock Pens,' in the year 1776 [1767?], by permission of Col. Reed, the officer commanding at that place, dated August 29th, 1765, and is now in possession of the same."

—*Calendar of Va. State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 280.

Richard Butler passed over the road from Carlisle to Fort Pitt traveled by Capt. Heart and his company, only a few days before the latter. In his Journal, he says: "Staid on Saturday [Sept. 14, 1785] at Shippensburg. Set out on Sunday; came to Littleton; thence to Bedford, Stony Creek, Proctor's, Widow Myers', and was met near the Bullock Pens by Col. B. and other gentlemen. Arrived at Fort Pitt, on the 16th [of Sept., 1785]."

Lee's Journal says: "The first of December [1784], brought us across Turtle creek through its rich bottoms and the Bull-pen swamp to Mr. [William] Elliot's; when ourselves, our servants, several wagoners, his wife and eight children, and a young daughter, all undressed and went to bed on the floor together, in a miserable log house."

¹ A fort—Duquesne—was built by the French at the commencement of the old French war, at what was afterward called Pittsburgh, but was burned by them in 1758, immediately before the occupation of the place by the British under General Forbes. It was a strong fortification of earth and wood stockaded. In December, 1758, the British erected a small stockade, with bastions, within two hundred yards of the ruins of the French post. The next year, however, was commenced a more formidable fortification. It was near the site of Fort Duquesne, and was named Fort Pitt. It remained in possession of a British force until the latter part of the year 1772, when it was abandoned and considerably, though not wholly, de-

stroyed. During the year 1773 a citizen of Pittsburgh—Edward Ward—had possession of what was left. It was, in 1774, re-occupied and somewhat repaired by Captain John Conolly, under orders from Lord Dunmore, as a Virginia post, and its name changed to Fort Dunmore, though the Pennsylvanians still adhered to “Fort Pitt,” which name was fully restored when Dunmore became odious to Virginia. It was vacated by Conolly just at the commencement of the Revolution. Its first occupation after that struggle began was by Virginia troops under Captain John Neville, in 1775, who were superceded early in 1777 by others raised in the immediate neighborhood of Pittsburgh. Following these was a Continental garrison, first under Brigadier General Edward Hand, afterward under Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh, whose successor was Col. Daniel Brodhead, followed by Colonel John Gibson, in command in October, 1781. Gibson’s successor was Brigadier General William Irvine who took command of the fort and its dependencies early in November, 1781, relinquishing it October 1, 1783. He was followed by Capt. Joseph Marbury who yielded the command during the first half of 1784 to Lieut. David Luckett. The latter was relieved at his own request from the service of the United States by a resolution of Congress passed June 7, 1785; at the same time, a small detachment from Josiah Harmar’s regiment was ordered to take the place of the men stationed there, to take charge of the public stores.

In a memorandum of Capt. Isaac Craig’s march from Carlisle to Fort Pitt, in 1780, by the way of Fort Cumberland, Md., the following points are noted : Carlisle, McAllister’s, Shippensburg, Little Conococheague, Pauling’s, Jacquese’s Furnace, Licking Creek, Feeding Rock, Old Town, Fort Cumberland, Hall’s, Tittle’s, Tomlinson’s, Bear Camp, Rice’s, Big Meadows, Gist’s, Blackstone’s, Ralph’s, Hugh’s, Near Waltour’s, Widow Myers’, Bullock Pens, Fort Pitt.

Recapitulation.—Capt. Heart’s route from New Windsor, N. Y., to Pittsburgh, Pa., and the distances in miles between places, as given in the foregoing Journal :

Edmunstone’s Tavern, 3; Bethlehem, 3; Blooming Green [Blooming Grove], 6; Wanmers, 3; Chester, 3; Warwick, 9; Hadestown, 6;

Walsingham, 8; Carey's Tavern, 3; Sussex, 10; Log Town, 10; Hope, 6; Harwick, 5; Oxford, 7; Easton, 10; Bethlehem, 12; Allentown, 6; Great Spring, 8; County Line, 4; Kerbytown, 6; Maden Creek, 12; Reading, —; Middletown, 14; Myerstown, 7; Lebanon, 7; Homestown, 18; Harris's Ferry [Harrisburg], 9; Major Reed's, 14 (and one mile ferry); Carlisle, 3; Mount Rock, 7; Ship-pensburg, 14; Esquire Finley's, 7; Pibles, 6; Fort Loudon, 9; Harris's, $2\frac{1}{2}$; Path Valley, 5; Burnt Cabins, 7; Fort Littleton, 4; Bottom of Sideling Hill, $9\frac{3}{4}$; Top of Sideling Hill, 3; Bottom of Ray's Hill, 4; Juniata, 3; Bloody Run, 7; Bedford, 8; Bennett's, 4; Anderson's, 5; Foot of Alleghany Mountains, 6; Top of Mountains, 6; Miller's, 4; Stony Creek, 5; Foot of Laurel Hill, 7; Up Laurel Hill, 4; Fort Ligonier, 7; Four Mile Run, 4; Nine Mile Run, 5; Twelve Mile Run, 3; Hannastown, $3\frac{1}{2}$; Bushy Run, 10; Cook's, 4; Widow Myers', —; Bullock Pens, 6; Fort Pitt [Pittsburgh], 6.



DICKINSON-HARMAR CORRESPONDENCE OF 1784-5.

DICKINSON¹ TO HARMAR².

IN COUNCIL³, [PHILADELPHIA], *August 14, 1784.*

Sir:—Agreeable to our communication of this day, you will proceed immediately to enlist and embody three companies of infantry, each consisting of seventy men, and fifty men as part of [an] artillery company. In performing this service, you will please to conform strictly to the following rules :

First, To guard against imposition, every recruit, before his attestation be signed, is to be carefully examined, lest he should have a rupture, fits, or some other disease, which may render him incapable of performing the more active duties of the soldier. All such, and also all persons who have been in the British service at any time during

¹ John Dickinson, President of the Suprême Executive Council of Pennsylvania and Governor of the State.

² Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar.

³ Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania ; a small body of men answering to a State Senate; the other branch was, as now, the General Assembly.

the late war, and also all persons who have been in the American service and have not been honorably discharged, are to be absolutely rejected, and those of the best character both as soldiers and men to be selected.

Secondly, when an unexceptionable recruit shall be engaged, you are to take or send him to some justice of the peace, who, finding him to be sober and having read to him the form of the enlistment and attestation, is to cause the recruit to sign the said enlistment and then administer to him the oath herewith enclosed, duplicate of which attestation and enlistment the justice shall witness. Of these, one copy is to be transmitted to this Board; the other you will retain in your hands.

Thirdly, The inclosed form of enlistment and attestation is to be invariably observed.¹

¹ FORM OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT AND ATTESTATION.

"I, _____, acknowledge myself to be fairly and truly enlisted in the Pennsylvania troops, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar, for the space of one year, unless sooner discharged. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this _____ day of _____, 1784.

"[Signed] _____.

"Witness, _____."

"I, _____, do swear to be true and faithful to the United States of America; that I will faithfully serve them in the troops commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar, for the space of one year from the date of this attestation, unless sooner discharged; and that I will be obedient to the orders of Congress and of the committee of the state in the recess of Congress, and to the officers who are or shall be set over me, according to the rules and regulations formed for the government of the late

Fourthly, as an encouragement for the enlistment of such recruit, you are authorized to offer on the part of the United States the pay, subsistence and rations heretofore allowed to the troops of the United States, and one month's pay after the troops are embodied before their march.

Fifthly, Council expect a weekly report of your progress in this business till it be concluded.¹

army of the United States, or such rules and regulations as Congress or a committee of the state may form. So help me [God.]

“ [Signed.].....”

“Sworn before me, a justice of the peace, }
 this.....day of....., 1784.” }

¹The Resolutions of Congress authorizing the raising, by the states named, of a number of their militia to form a corps for western service, were passed June 3, 1784. These resolutions were as follows :

“WHEREAS a body of troops, to consist of seven hundred non-commissioned officers and privates, properly officered, are immediately and indispensably necessary for taking possession of the western posts, as soon as evacuated by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, for the protection of the northwestern frontiers, and for guarding the public stores;

“*Resolved*, that it be and it is hereby recommended to the states hereafter named, as most conveniently situated, to furnish forthwith from their militia, seven hundred men to serve for twelve months, unless sooner discharged, in the following proportions, viz.: Connecticut, one hundred and sixty-five; New York, one hundred and sixty-five; New Jersey, one hundred and ten; Pennsylvania, two hundred and sixty. Total—seven hundred.

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

PHILADELPHIA, *August 16, 1784.*

The respectable appointment which your Honorable Body has been pleased to confer upon me, and the very

“Resolved, that the Secretary in the war office take order for forming the said troops when assembled, into one regiment, to consist of eight companies of infantry and two of artillery, arming and equipping them in a soldier-like manner; and that he be authorized to direct their destination and operations, subject to the order of Congress and of the committee of the states in the recess of Congress.

“Resolved, that the pay, subsistence and rations of the officers and men, shall be the same as has been heretofore allowed to the troops of the United States; and that each officer and soldier shall receive one month's pay after they are embodied, before their march.

“Resolved, that the staff and commissioned officers of the said troops, consist of the following and be furnished by the several states hereinafter mentioned; that is to say, one lieutenant colonel commandant from Pennsylvania; two majors, one from Connecticut and one from New York, each major to command a company; eight captains from the several states furnishing the troops in the nearest proportion to the number of the men furnished; ten lieutenants, one to act as adjutant; ten ensigns; one regimental chaplain; one surgeon; [and] four mates.

“Resolved, that the Secretary in the war-office give the necessary order for the inferior arrangements and organization of the said troops, and make the apportionment of the officers to be furnished by the several states, not herein particularly directed.

“Resolved, that the said troops when embodied, on their march, on duty, and in garrison, shall be liable to all the rules and regulations formed for the government of the late army of the United

polite manner in which it was done, lay me under particular obligations to your Excellency and Council. Indeed I cannot sufficiently express my feelings upon this occasion ; I shall therefore endeavor, by a steady attention to the duties of this appointment, to render every possible service to my country and thereby merit the approbation of your Honorable Board.¹

States, or such rules and regulations as Congress or a committee of the states may form.

“ *Resolved*, that [Robert Morris] the Superintendent of the Finances of the United States take order for furnishing on the warrant to the Secretary in the war office, the sums requisite for carrying the foregoing resolutions into effect.”

That it was generally understood throughout the country that the troops to be recruited and sent west were simply to garrison the posts which were to be turned over by the British to the Americans, the following shows : “ Dec. 3d [1783].—By proclamation of Congress, the American army was disbanded ; a few men under the command of a captain at Fort Pitt excepted. A resolution soon followed for raising a regiment for the purpose of garrisoning the western posts—this regiment to consist of ten companies portioned as follows : Pennsylvania—4 companies and Lieut. Col. Comm’t. Jersey—1 company. New York—3 companies and a Major. Connecticut—2 companies and a Major.”

—“ *Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny*,” pp. 257, 258.

¹ On the 13th of August, Col. Harmar was appointed Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the militia to be raised under the resolutions of Congress, as the following shows :

[IN COUNCIL], PHILADELPHIA, *Friday*, [August] 13, 1784.

“ In pursuance of an act of the General Assembly [of Pennsylvania] entitled . ‘ An Act for furnishing from the militia of

DICKINSON TO MORRIS¹.

IN COUNCIL, [PHILADELPHIA], *August 19, 1784.*

Sir :—Colonel Harmar has this morning reported to us that you do not think yourself empowered to furnish the sums requisite for subsisting the quota of troops required from this Commonwealth by the resolution of Congress of the third day of June last², and that therefore he cannot proceed in enlisting the men, though numbers have offered.

By the seventh of the said resolutions it is directed, “that the superintendent of the finances of the United States take order for furnishing, on the warrant of the

Pennsylvania the quota of troops required by Congress for the protection of the Northwestern frontiers, and for other purposes,’ Council having arranged the two hundred and sixty men assigned as the quota of this State in three companies of infantry, each consisting of seventy men, non-commissioned officers included, the remaining fifty to form part of an artillery company,—took into consideration the applications for commissions and made the following appointments : Josiah Harmar, to be Lieutenant Colonel Commandant ; Walter Finney, David Ziegler, William McCurdy,—Captains of Infantry ; Stewart Herbert, Ercurius Beatty, Thomas Doyle,—Lieutenants ; John Armstrong, Andrew Henderson, Ebenezer Denny,—Ensigns ; John McDowell,—Surgeon ; Richard Allison,—Surgeon’s Mate ; Artillery—Captain, Thomas Douglass, [and] Lieutenant, Joseph Ashton.”

¹ Robert Morris, Superintendent of the Finances of the United States.

² The seventh of the Resolutions of Congress of June 3, 1784. See ante p. 31, note.

Secretary of the war office, the sums requisite for carrying the foregoing resolution into effect." Conformably to the letter and spirit of this resolution the General Assembly has by the late law founded on the before mentioned act, ordered, "that the pay, rations and subsistence of the officers and men shall be the same as have been heretofore allowed, provided such pay, rations, subsistence and other expenses of raising, supporting and maintaining the said troops be furnished by the United States."

We are of opinion that this state ought only to furnish and not to feed the men; and we should be extremely sorry that after such prompt and zealous exertions on the part of Pennsylvania, for accomplishing the intentions of Congress, the whole plan should be now defeated by a construction put upon their expressions by any of their own officers.

MORRIS TO DICKINSON.

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *August 19, 1784.*

Sir:—I had just now the honor to receive your Excellency's letter dated in Council this day. I had the pleasure of a conversation with Col. Harmar this morning. In the course of it, I expressed my opinion that as the United States had made a call for militia they could hardly have had it in contemplation to pay any expenses of raising recruits or of supporting them until after they should be assembled in readiness to obey orders to be issued by authority of Congress. I took occasion also to observe that the States of Connecticut, New York and New Jersey, being at a distance from the public treasury, could not

apply for money to defray the like expenses should they pursue the same mode of furnishing their respective quotas.

Since the receipt of your Excellency's letter, being apprehensive lest the construction I had ventured to put upon the expressions of Congress should be contrary to their intentions, I had recourse to the printed journal, and am rather confirmed in my former idea; for I find that a motion was made to add the following clause—"that where the laws of any state will not admit of their militia being called out on the terms prescribed in the foregoing resolutions such state may be permitted to engage the quota of men assigned it, in such manner as the Legislature thereof shall direct;" and I find that this motion was set aside by the previous question.

I shall not pretend to enquire whether the act of your Legislature is or is not conformable to the letter and spirit of the seventh resolution quoted in your Excellency's letter. I have great respect for the wisdom of the Honorable Assembly. I entertain a just sense of the prompt and zealous exertions made on the part of Pennsylvania; and I should feel much regret if the plan were defeated. My construction of the seventh resolution is contained in the answer of this date to a letter of yesterday from the Secretary in the war office, of both which I have the honor to enclose copies.¹

¹ The letter of the Secretary in the war office—Joseph Carleton—to Morris was as follows :

"WAR OFFICE, *August 18, 1784.*

"Sir:—I do myself the honor to inform you that the officers lately appointed by the Executive of Pennsylvania have orders

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

PHILADELPHIA, *August 25, 1784.*

Sir.—As it is necessary that the officers previous to receiving their commissions should have taken the oath of allegiance to the state, I can certify to your Excellency and the Honorable Council that Captains Finney, Douglass, Ziegler and McCurdy, likewise Lieutenants Herbert and Doyle, and the surgeon, McDowell, have already taken it. The other officers I cannot certify to, but have not the least doubt but the oath has been taken by them. Your Excellency and the Honorable Council may be assured that previous to my delivering them their commissions, I

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from their commanding officer to proceed immediately on the recruiting business, who has made choice of Philadelphia and Lancaster as the fittest place for the rendezvous of the recruits. As provisions will be immediately wanted for their support, I beg leave to suggest the expediency of temporary contracts being formed at these posts for the supply of the troops as they are enlisted."

The reply of Morris was in these words :

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *August 19, 1784.*

"Sir :—I have received your favor of the eighteenth. I am clearly of opinion that it is always best to supply rations by contract. You will observe that by the act of Congress of the third of June last, I am directed to take order for furnishing on your warrants the sums necessary for carrying their resolutions into effect. Not conceiving myself authorised by this act to form any judgment either on the amount or on the application of the sums in question, I can only say in answer to your letter that the warrants you may think proper to issue shall meet due honor."

will be well convinced that every one shall have taken the oath.¹

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

SATURDAY NOON, *August 28, 1784.*

I have the honor to enclose your Excellency and the Honorable Council, a Statement² of the troops at present. Since this Return has been made, several more men have

¹ Some of the Pennsylvania appointments did not give entire satisfaction to the recipients, as the following from John Armstrong to the Supreme Executive Council, shows :

SUNBURY, *August 24, 1784.*

"Sir :—By a letter from Col. Harmar, I find your Excellency and Council have been pleased to honor me with an appointment in the Continental regiment under his command. After acknowledgments to your Excellency and Council for their confidence, [I] beg leave to observe that I feel myself hurt in being only appointed as ensign after having served as lieutenant in the Continental army since the 11th of September, 1777, and lately honored by Congress with a captain's commission by brevet ; and, while I accept my present appointment, hope your Excellency and Council, will give me the rank I held in the Continental army."

² The Statement was as follows :

"Report of the American Regiment under command of Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar. Camp, Western Heights of Schuylkill, August 28, 1784. Artillery : Captain Douglass,—present for duty, 22 ; sick, 1 ; absent without leave, 1 ; confined, 1. Infantry : Captain Finney,—present for duty, 30 ; absent without

been recruited. I imagine my total is about one hundred. I have just received a letter from Capt. Ziegler dated August 24th, wherein [he says] his success is but very trifling as yet.

LEE AND BUTLER TO DICKINSON.

PHILADELPHIA, *September 11, 1784.*

Sir :—Upon ordering the troops raised in this state for the purpose of the treaty with the Indians to prepare

leave, 3. Captain McCurdy,—present for duty, 21 ; absent without leave, 1. Captain Ziegler,—no accounts yet of his success."

It will be noticed that Col. Harmar, in this Report, designates his corps as "the American Regiment." His next (as were most of his subsequent Returns) was signed by himself as "Lieutenant Colonel Commanding First American Regiment." But this naming his corps the "First American Regiment" was wholly without authority of Congress. Both officers and troops were simply *militia* of Pennsylvania (and, afterward, other states) *in service of* the United States.

¹ Arthur Lee and Richard Butler, United States Commissioners of Indian Affairs. The following extracts from the Journals of Congress, refer to the appointment of these and other Commissioners :

"Congress proceeded to the election of five Commissioners to negotiate with the Indians ; and the ballots being taken, Mr. George Rogers Clark, Mr. Oliver Wolcott, Mr. Nathaniel Greene, Mr. Richard Butler, and Mr. Stephen Higginson, were elected." [March 4, 1784.]

"*Resolved*, That another Commissioner be appointed in addition to those appointed by the act of Congress of the 4th of March last,

for an immediate march to Pittsburgh¹, we are informed that several of the officers are absent from their duty. Who they are will be represented to your Excellency by the Colonel Commandant of those troops.

to negotiate with the Indians ; and that to-morrow be assigned for that purpose." [Passed April 6, 1784.]

"According to order, Congress proceeded to the election of another Commissioner in addition to those appointed on the 4th of March last, to negotiate with the Indians ; and, the ballots being taken, Mr. Philip Schuyler was elected." [April 7, 1784.]

"According to the order of the day, Congress proceeded to the election of two Commissioners to negotiate with the Indians, in the room of Mr. S. Higginson and Mr. N. Greene, who have declined that office ; and, the ballots being taken, Mr. Benjamin Lincoln, and Mr. Arthur Lee were elected." [April 24, 1784.]

¹ The two Commissioners, in ordering the Pennsylvania troops to the westward to protect them in holding treaties with the Indians, were acting under authority of Congress as expressed in the following Resolutions passed June 3, 1784 :

"WHEREAS it is necessary to expedite the holding treaties with the Indian nations, which it appears cannot be done but under the protection of an armed force ; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary in the war office be, and he is hereby directed to order three hundred men of the militia directed to be raised by the act of this day, to be in readiness to march when and to what place or places the Commissioners for negotiating with the Indians or any two of them shall direct : and that the commanding officer of the said troops give such protection to the Commissioners as they, or any two of them, shall require ; and that the said Secretary give orders to the different keepers of the public stores to furnish to the order of the Commissioners, or any two of them, such tents, marquees and other articles as the said Commissioners shall think proper.

"*Resolved*, That the Superintendent of Finance take order for purchasing and transmitting the articles necessary for the Indian

As the public service requires the immediate attendance of all the officers and indeed did require it from the moment of their appointment, we take the liberty of requesting your Excellency and the Council to appoint persons who are present and who will immediately attend to their duty, in the place of those who shall be reported as absent. The attention your Excellency and the Council have hitherto given to expediting this indispensable support to the treaty, makes us rely upon a compliance with what we now request.

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

PHILADELPHIA, *September 25, 1784.*

Sir :—I have the honor to inclose to your Excellency

treaties, according to a list hereunto annexed, to such places as the Commissioners appointed to negotiate with the Indians, or any two of them, shall direct : that he furnish such additional articles not exceeding the sum of four thousand dollars, as the said Commissioners shall order ; and that he contract with such persons as he may think proper, to furnish sixty thousand rations for the Indian treaties at such places as the Commissioners, or any two of them, shall direct, together with such things as shall be necessary for the expenses of the said Commissioners during the negotiation.

“ *Resolved*, That the Commissioners for negotiating with the Indians, or any two of them, being a majority of those present, be empowered to do the business of the commission, and to appoint a secretary, messengers, interpreters, store-keepers and such artificers as they may find necessary, and to agree with them for their pay, for which they shall draw warrants on the treasury.”

and the Honorable Council, a weekly Return¹ of the troops under my command, and at the same time to inform [you] that last Wednesday, the artillery and Captain Finney's company marched from their encampment for Fort Pitt [at Pittsburgh]. In the course of next week the remainder of the troops will march.

McDOWELL² TO DICKINSON.

PHILADELPHIA *September 30, 1784.*

His Excellency the President and the Honorable Members of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen :—When the troops marched this morning, three men were left on the ground too sick to go on with the detachment. I am of opinion that they will be

¹ Weekly Report of the First American Regiment under command of Lieut. Colonel Josiah Harmar. Camp, September 25, 1784. Companies: Artillery, Capt. Douglass' company—present fit for service, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 41 privates;—sick (absent) 1. Infantry, present fit for service, Capt. Finney's company—3 sergeants, 1 corporal, 60 privates;—sick (present) 1; on extra service, 1. Capt. Ziegler's company, present fit for service—3 sergeants, 4 corporals, 52 privates;—sick (present) 1; sick (absent) 2; absent without leave, 7. Capt. McCurdy's company,—present fit for service, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, 46 privates; sick (present) 11; on extra service, 1; absent without leave, 9; confined, 1. N. B. The artillery and Capt. Finney's company are on their march to Fort Pitt [at Pittsburgh].”

² John McDowell, surgeon of the “first American Regiment.”

able to follow the regiment in the course of two or three weeks, if they are properly attended to. It is a pity to leave them lying on the ground friendless and moneyless. I therefore ordered them, with the advice of Col. Harmar, to be removed to Carpenter's Hall, where they must stay until I have the pleasure of your commands concerning them.

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

PHILADELPHIA, *October 1, 1784.*

Sir:—Agreeably to instructions received from your Excellency and the Honorable Council, I have the honor to transmit you copies of the several enlistments for the troops raised in this state. Yesterday, the remainder of the men, viz.: Capt. Ziegler's and Capt. McCurdy's companies, marched from their encampment on Schuylkill river for Fort Pitt [at Pittsburgh].

TREATY AT FORT STANWIX¹, OCTOBER, 1784.

Articles [of a treaty] concluded at Fort Stanwix on the twenty-second day of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, between Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee, Commissioners plenipotentiary from the United States, in Congress assembled, on the one part, and the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, on the other.

¹ Fort Stanwix—now Rome, Oneida county, N. Y. A treaty between Great Britain and the Six Nations (Iroquois) was held here in 1768, when

The United States of America give peace to the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, and Cayugas, and receive them

“All that tract of land situate in North America, at the back of the British settlements, bounded by a line which we have now agreed upon, and do hereby establish as the boundary between us and the British Colonies in America ; beginning at the mouth of the Cherokee, or Hogohege river, where it empties into the river Ohio, and running from thence upwards along the south side of the said river to Kittanning, which is above Fort Pitt ; from thence by a direct line to the nearest fork of the west branch of Susquehanna, thence through the Alleghany mountains, along the south side of the said west branch, till it comes opposite to the mouth of a creek called Tiadaghton ; thence across the west branch and along the south side of that creek and along the north side of Burnet’s Hills, to a creek called Awandae ; thence down the same to the east branch of Susquehanna, and across the same, and up the east side of that river, to Owegy ; from thence east to Delaware river and up that river to opposite where Tianaderha falls into Susquehanna ; thence to Tianaderha, and up the west side thereof and the west side of its west branch to the head thereof ; and thence by a direct line to Canada creek, where it empties into Wood creek, at the west end of the carrying place beyond Fort Stanwix and extending eastward from every part of the said line as far as the lands formerly purchased, so as to comprehend the whole of the lands between the said line and the purchased lands or settlements, except what is within the province of Pennsylvania.”

The Cherokee river mentioned in the foregoing, the mouth of which was the starting point of the line, is now known as the Tennessee river ; while the terminating point is at present properly described as the confluence of Fish creek with Wood creek, in Oneida county, N. Y. It may be mentioned that the west half of what is now the State of New York remained in possession of the Iroquois. At the same treaty, the province of Pennsylvania pur-

into their protection upon the following conditions¹ :

ART. 1. Six hostages shall be immediately delivered to the Commissioners by the said nations, to remain in possession of the United States, till all the prisoners, white and black which were taken by the said Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas and Cayugas, or by any of them, in the late war, from among the people of the United States, shall be delivered up.²

chased of these Indians all their lands east of the before-described line, lying within its boundaries, which had not previously been bought of them.

¹ These four of the six nations of the Iroquois were hostile to the United States during the Revolution, adhering to the British ; that is, they were finally induced to take up the hatchet against the Colonies, though solemnly covenanting with the latter in 1775 and again in 1776, not to join in the war against them. By the treaty securing the independence of the United States, Great Britain renounced and yielded to the latter all pretensions and claims whatsoever to all the country south and west of the Great Lakes as far west as the Mississippi ; but, in that treaty, no mention was made of any Indian nation ; so that all those who had taken up the hatchet against the Colonies were left to make peace, as best they could, with the Americans. Hence, it was that the United States boldly declared that they gave peace to these four nations above mentioned and received them into their protection upon certain conditions, which they dictated. This feature of the treaty it is important to understand.

² It is proper here to explain that a message had been sent to these nations previously, that the delivery of all prisoners held by them would be a condition precedent to all grants of peace or protection on the part of the United States. But the representatives of the four nations mentioned having placed themselves in the power of the Americans without complying with this demand, hostages were properly demanded.

ART. 2. The Oneida and Tuscarora nations shall be secured in the possession of the lands on which they are settled.¹

ART. 3. A line shall be drawn, beginning at the mouth of a creek, about four miles east of Niagara, called Oyonwayea, or Johnston's Landing Place, upon the lake named by the Indians Oswego, and by us Ontario; from thence southerly, in a direction always four miles east of the carrying path between lake Erie and Ontario, to the mouth of Tehoseroron, or Buffaloe creek, on Lake Erie; thence south to the north boundary of the state of Pennsylvania²; thence west, to the end of the said north boundary³; thence south, along the west boundary of the said state, to the river Ohio⁴; the said line, from the

¹ These two nations remained friendly to the United States during the Revolution; hence the stipulation in their favor.

² It will be seen, by reference to any map of the state of New York, that the line of the old treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768), running southerly to the south boundary of the state from a point in Oneida county, was now moved by this new treaty at the same place, so far to the westward that comparatively a small portion of the state lay to the westward of it.

³ The reason why the line was made to run *west* the *whole distance* on the northern boundary of Pennsylvania was because, at that time, "the triangle" bordering on Lake Erie had not yet been purchased, by that Commonwealth, of the United States.

⁴ Of course, as soon as the line drawn at this treaty struck the Ohio, it came up to the line of the old treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768); and, from this point down to the mouth of the Tennessee river, these Indians had already sold their claim to the *eastward*; so this point being reached, there was no need of running the line farther down the Ohio.

mouth of the Oyonwayea to the Ohio, shall be the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations; so that the Six Nations shall and do yield to the United States, all claims to the country west of the said boundary¹; and then they shall be secured in the peaceful possession of the lands they inhabit east and north of the same², reserving only six miles square, round the fort of Oswego, to the United States, for the support of the same.

ART. 4. The Commissioners of the United States, in consideration of the present circumstances of the Six Nations, and in execution of the humane and liberal views of the United States, upon the signing of the above articles, will order goods to be delivered to the said Six Nations, for their use and comfort.³

¹ The reader will not fail to observe that while the old line of the treaty of 1768 as fixed at Fort Stanwix, was the *east* boundary of the Iroquois possessions, the new line of the present treaty became the *west* boundary of their claims; so that now, so far as the Six Nations were concerned, they had no longer any rights north-west of the river Ohio. It was because there were other Indian claimants to the region of the Northwest that other treaties were held with savage nations farther to the westward, with what results, in the next instance, the sequel shows.

² But they immediately sold all lying east of the line in Pennsylvania to that Commonwealth; so that the latter had now a title to all the country west and north of the Alleghany and Ohio rivers within her boundaries, free and clear from all claims of the Six Nations.

³ The articles were signed on the part of the United States by Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee; on the part of the Six Nations, by representatives of the Mohawks, Onondagas Senecas, Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras. The treaty was proclaimed by the United States Oct. 22, 1784.

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

CAMP NEAR FORT PITT, ON THE INDIAN SHORE, THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE ALLEGHANY RIVER¹, *December 5th, 1784.*

Sir :—I have the honor to inform your Excellency and the Honorable Council of the arrival of the first detachment of Pennsylvania troops, composed of Captain [Thomas] Douglass' company of artillery and Captain [Walter] Finney's company of infantry, at this place on the 18th of October, last. The second detachment composed of Captain [David] Ziegler's and Captain [William] McCurdy's companies of infantry arrived here on the 29th of the same month.

We have remained in this position till this day, in hourly expectation of the Commissioners²; they are just

¹ Now the site of Allegheny City, Pennsylvania.

² The date of the arrival of the United States Commissioners at Fort Pitt, will be seen by the following :

“Next day [Dec. 2, 1784], we [Arthur Lee and Richard Butler, Commissioners of the United States to negotiate with the Indians] proceeded six miles to Fort Pitt, where we found Gen. [George Rogers] Clark [another of the Commissioners].

“Dec. 3d [1784]. The Commissioners met and received from Mr. [Alexander] Lowrey answers from their messages, with strings of wampum, from the Delawares, Shawanese, Wyandots, and Twightwees [Miamis], declaring their readiness to meet at Cuyahoga. At the same time, two traders had arrived from thence directly and brought a message from several chiefs assembled there, dated Nov. 26th, informing the Commissioners that they had attended, at Cuya-

arrived, and, upon a consultation, considering the advanced season of the year, the difficulty of supplies, expense of transportation, etc., to Cuyahoga, they have resolved to hold the treaty at Fort McIntosh, thirty miles distant from Fort Pitt, down the Ohio river. In consequence of their resolve, the troops marched this morning from this encampment for Fort McIntosh; the tents, baggage, etc., are to go by water. Mr. Alexander Lowrey, messenger to the Commissioners, was dispatched this day to Cuyahoga, with an invitation to the Indians to assemble at Fort McIntosh. The fort is in very bad order and will require considerable repairs before the troops can have comfortable winter quarters.¹

hoga from the 20th; had brought with them their wives and children; and had nothing to eat. These traders said there might be near six hundred at or near Cuyahoga."

—*Extracts from the Journal of Arthur Lee.*

¹ Ebenezer Denny, in his Journal, says :—

"Marched [in going with the Pennsylvania troops from their encampment on 'Western Heights of Schuylkill'] through Lancaster by Carlisle, etc., to Pittsburgh. Waited for the arrival of [the United States] Commissioners appointed to hold a treaty with the Indians. Treaty expected to be holden at Cuyahoga. Commissioners late getting out; season advanced; plan changed; and Indians invited to attend at Fort McIntosh, about thirty miles below Fort Pitt, on bank of Ohio; to which place we repaired and found exceeding good quarters."

Fort McIntosh was built by General Lachlan McIntosh, in 1778. It was "a regular stockaded work, with four bastions, and defended by six pieces of artillery." It was built of hewn logs; its figure was an irregular square.

Inclosed, your Excellency and the Honorable Council will be pleased to receive a Return of the Pennsylvania troops, likewise a list of all deserters, with their descriptions, since the corps was raised. Lieut. Herbert I have ordered suspended in his command and have written this day to the Secretary in the war office for orders in his case, as a general court martial cannot be convened for his trial. The list of deserters is indeed very considerable owing to the extreme hurry in raising the corps. I apprehend the chief part of these villains must be lurking about the city of Philadelphia, as most all of them had attachments there. I have suggested to the Secretary in the war office, that perhaps it might be advisable to advertise and offer pardon to them provided they delivered themselves up in a limited time. Your Excellency will please to observe that my total [number of men] at present is only two hundred and thirty-one, including non-commissioned officers and music, consequently twenty-nine are wanting to complete [the corps]. My sole dependance is upon apprehending the deserters, in order to have my complement of men.¹

¹ The regular monthly Return of Col. Harmar was dated December 1, 1784, but his relation above is so full that it is thought unnecessary to give its contents in this connection. It may be proper to say, however, that Ensign Armstrong was reported as sick and absent in Philadelphia; and that no chaplain had as yet been appointed for the corps. Three of the men reported sick and absent were left on the march from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt. One who was reported as on extra service was detailed as waiter to Richard Butler, one of the Continental Commissioners. The whole number of deserters from the four companies since the enlistments began was sixty.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF ARTHUR LEE,
DEC., 1784.

On the 10th of December [1784], we attempted a jaunt up the Alleghany river in a boat; but when we had rowed about six miles against its current, which is exceedingly strong, a violent snow-storm sent us back. Some of us landed on the north side and hunted along the river, but found no game. The land upon the river is exceedingly rich but narrow, the high lands being within two or three hundred yards of the banks. And indeed this strip of rich bottom, producing black walnut, locust and sugar-maple in abundance, seems to have been made by the gradual incroachment of the river on the southern bank and consequent recess from its northern bed.

About five miles up, you come to what is called Guyasutha's Bottom, from having been formerly the residence of an Indian chief of that name. He has removed to the Seneca country near the Niagara. This Guyasutha was a very provident Indian, not only in fixing his seat in this most fertile valley but in having two wives (I mean as a savage); one well stricken in years who paid great attention to his food and his clothes, the other a handsome young squaw. . . . Guyasutha's Bottom is a rich and beautiful spot. We saw wild hops growing there in the utmost luxuriance and of a fine flavor.

11th [Dec., 1784]. We received an Indian express from Mr. [Alexander] Lowrey, dated at Cuyahoga, and informing us that the Indians had come as far as Cuscuskis¹

¹ Sometimes written Kaskaskunk; a Delaware Indian village originally at the junction of the Shenango and Mahoning rivers, in



within thirty miles of [Fort] McIntosh, but that they were unwilling to come further because of their wives and children. . . .

17th [Dec., 1784]. We embarked on the Monongahela and soon entered the Ohio on our way to Fort McIntosh. The Ohio is a continuation of the Monongahela and the Alleghany. They enter it at right angles. This appears plainly when you have passed the mouth of the Alleghany. Upon looking back, you see at some distance, directly up the Monongahela, but the point of the two banks only, that form the mouth of the Alleghany, is visible, none of its water. Yet it has often been said that the Ohio was a continuation of the Alleghany. . . .

On the 19th [of December, 1784], Mr. [Alexander] Lowrey came in, with John Montour and another Indian, who gave us reason to expect the Indians [from Cuscuskis to the treaty] in a few days. Reflecting on what would be the best method to secure the country we obtain from the Indians, from being surveyed by the swarms of irregular settlers, it seemed to me that this purpose would be answered, by inserting in the treaty an article in these words: "If any person shall attempt to survey or settle on any of the said lands, until the Commissioners shall have informed the Indians that permission is given by Congress to such surveyors or settlements, such persons shall be out of the protection of the United States and the Indians may drive them away." This prohibition being made public in a proclamation by the Commissioners,

what is now Lawrence county, Pennsylvania; afterward moved to the present New Castle, same county.

would deter persons from attempting settlements, till Congress shall have formed such regulations as will, at the same time, secure a reasonable profit to the public and settle the country systematically and fully. For these purposes, I shall propose this article to my colleagues [George Rogers Clark and Richard Butler]. . . .

22d [of Dec., 1784]. We dispatched a person to Cusckis with some rum, lead and twenty-five pounds of powder, for the Indians. I had my doubts about the propriety of sending them so much powder; for there are about twenty-five hundred charges for a rifle in that quantity. . . .

24th [of Dec., 1784]. Mr. Lowrey informed us that the western Indians were both discontented and angry with the Six Nations, for having made a treaty with us without consulting them. This was the object of the general confederation which they mentioned at Fort Stanwix; and these Indians charge the Six Nations with a breach of faith, plighted in this confederacy. It is certain this was the wish of the Six Nations and the intent of their speech; but the decided language we held obliged them to an immediate determination, which bids fair to prostrate their confederation and its diabolical objects. . . .

25th [of December, 1784]. Mr. Evans, agent, and the Pennsylvania Commissioners [Samuel J. Atlee, Francis Johnson and Alexander Campbell] arrived. The boat in which they embarked with stores, having run aground, and being nearly overwhelmed with ice, they and the crew,—almost frozen to death before the ice became hard enough to bear them,—got on shore, landed the goods and brought them forward on pack-horses. . . .

27th [Dec., 1784]. Mr. [John] Boggs, another of our Indian messengers, arrived [at Fort McIntosh] and reported the Indians were on their way, and that some of them would be in the next day.

28th [Dec., 1784]. Several Indians arrived [at Fort McIntosh]. Orders were issued by the Commissioners against selling or giving them rum. Mr. Boggs was directed to make a Return, day by day, of the number present from the different tribes, to Mr. Lowrey, who was directed to order them provisions, agreeably to that Return. This was done not only that they might be duly supplied with provisions, but that we might have a check upon the commissary. . . .

29th [Dec., 1784]. Some chiefs of the Chippewas and Ottawas only have arrived. They came this morning requesting some spirits, two kettles, a tent, a blanket for an old man, some powder and lead for their young men to hunt with, and some paint. The Commissioners ordered them some spirits, a blanket, the kettles, paint and ammunition. The tent was refused because every tribe would have expected the same; and as they never return what they once get into their hands, it would be too expensive. . . .

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

FORT MCINTOSH, *January 15, 1785.*

Sir:—I had the honor of addressing your Excellency and the Honorable Council on the 5th ultimo, inclosing a Return of the Pennsylvania troops in the service of the

United States dated on the first of December last. Inclosed, your Excellency will be pleased to receive another monthly Return¹ of the troops dated the 1st instant. The whole corps have been on constant fatigue since their arrival here, in repairing the fort and fitting up rooms, stores, etc., for accommodating the Continental and State Commissioners, which [labor] has injured the clothing [of the men] much.

A few days since, the treaty commenced, and I believe will be satisfactorily concluded against the latter end of this month, although the chiefs of the Wyandots, Chippewas, Delawares, and Ottawas, which are the nations that are assembled here, in a speech they delivered at the council-fire yesterday, held out an idea to the Continental Commissioners that they still looked upon the lands which the United States held by the treaty with Great Britain as their own; but the Commissioners have answered them in a high tone, the purport of which was, that, as they had adhered during the war to the king of Great Britain, they were considered by us as a conquered people and had therefore nothing to expect from the United States, but must depend altogether upon their lenity and generosity. This spirited answer, it is supposed, will have the desired effect.

¹ In his Return, Col. Harmar says that four of his men are on extra service as waiters to the Continental Commissioners; that one man had deserted and two joined since his last Report; that Ensign Denny acted as adjutant pro tem.; that Nathan McDowell having received the appointment of ensign had joined his command; that one sergeant of the artillery had been reduced to a matross; and that his total number of men present was two hundred and thirty-two.

The State [*i. e.*, the Pennsylvania] Commissioners, I believe, will not have the least difficulty in transacting their business, which lays with the Wyandot and Delaware nations.

TREATY AT FORT McINTOSH, JANUARY, 1785.

Articles of a treaty concluded at Fort McIntosh, the twenty-first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, between the Commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States of America, of the one part, and the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa nations, of the other.

The Commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States in Congress assembled, give peace to the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa nations of Indians, on the following conditions :

ART. 1. Three chiefs, one from among the Wyandot and two from among the Delaware nations, shall be delivered up to the Commissioners of the United States, to be by them retained till all the prisoners, white and black, taken by the said Indians, or any of them, shall be restored.

ART. 2. The said Indian nations do acknowledge themselves and all their tribes to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other sovereign whatsoever.

ART. 3. The boundary line between the United States and the Wyandot and Delaware nations, shall begin at the mouth of the river Cuyahoga¹ and run thence up the

¹ Now the site of the City of Cleveland, Ohio.

said river to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of Muskingum¹; then down the said branch to the forks at the crossing place above Fort Laurens²; then westerly to the portage of the Big Miami which runs into the Ohio, at the mouth of which branch the fort stood which was taken by the French in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; then along the said portage to the Great Miami, or Ome river³, and down the southeast side of the same to its mouth; thence along the south shore of Lake Erie, to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, where it began.

ART. 4. The United States allot all the lands contained within the said lines to the Wyandot and Delaware nations, to live and to hunt on, and to such of the Ottawa

¹ At the date of the treaty, the river was known as the Muskingum as far up as the mouth of Sandy creek; all above that was called the Tuscarawas, or "the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum," as in the treaty. But the stream is now called Tuscarawas as far down as the mouth of the Walhonding, or White Woman.

² Fort Laurens was built during the Revolution on the west bank of the Tuscarawas (then called Muskingum), just below the mouth of Sandy creek. The "Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum" and the Sandy creek formed the "forks," just above which was the "crossing" of the "Tuscarawas branch."

³ There were, at that date, two rivers, each of which was known as the "Big Miami—" the one now known as the "Great Miami" and the other as the "Maumee;" the first flowing into the Ohio, the last mentioned into Lake Erie. The fort spoken of was Fort Loramie. It stood at the mouth of Loramie's creek, which was the "branch" of the "Big Miami," mentioned in the treaty. There was a portage north, from Fort Loramie, to the waters of the "Great Miami, or Ome river;" that is, to what is now called the "Maumee."

nation as now live thereon, saving and reserving for the establishment of trading posts, six miles square at the mouth of Miami, or Ome river, and the same at the portage on that branch of the Big Miami which runs into the Ohio, and the same on the Lake of Sandusky¹ where the fort formerly stood², and also two miles square on each side of the lower rapids of Sandusky river,—which posts and the lands annexed to them, shall be to the use and under the government of the United States.

ART. 5. If any citizen of the United States, or other person not being an Indian, shall attempt to settle on any of the lands allotted to the Wyandot and Delaware nations in this treaty, except on the lands reserved to the United States in the preceding article, such person shall forfeit the protection of the United States, and the Indians may punish him as they please.

ART. 6. The Indians who sign this treaty, as well in behalf of all their tribes as of themselves, do acknowledge the lands east, south and west, of the lines described in the third article, so far as the said Indians formerly claimed the same, to belong to the United States; and none of their tribes shall presume to settle upon the same or any part of it.

ART. 7. The post of Detroit, with a district beginning at the mouth of the river Rosine [now Raisin], on the west end of Lake Erie, and running west six miles up the

¹ Now known as Sandusky Bay.

² The same Fort Sandusky that was captured by the Wyandots in Pontiac's war.

southern bank of the said river, thence northerly and always six miles west of the strait till it strikes the Lake St. Clair, shall be also reserved to the sole use of the United States.

ART. 8. In the same manner, the post of Michilimackinac with its dependencies and twelve miles square about the same, shall be reserved to the use of the United States.¹

ART. 9. If any Indian or Indians shall commit a robbery or murder on any citizen of the United States, the tribe to which such offenders may belong, shall be bound to deliver them up at the nearest post, to be punished according to the ordinances of the United States.

ART. 10. The Commissioners of the United States in pursuance of the humane and liberal views of Congress, upon this treaty's being signed, will direct goods to be distributed among the different tribes for their use and comfort.

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

FORT MCINTOSH, *February 8, 1785.*

Sir:—I had the honor of addressing your Excellency and the Honorable Council on the 15th ult., inclosing a Return of the Pennsylvania troops in the service of the

¹ But this post and Detroit were still held by the British, and were not given up to the United States until 1796.

United States, dated the 1st ultimo. Inclosed, your Excellency will be pleased to receive another monthly Return of the troops, dated the first instant¹ The Honorable the State Commissioners, Colonel [Samuel J.] Atlee and Colonel [Francis] Johnson, by this time, I imagine, must have arrived at Philadelphia, by whom your Excellency and the Honorable Council will hear of the satisfactory conclusion of the treaty with the Indians at this post.

This garrison is at length, by hard fatigue of the troops, put in tolerable good order. I beg leave to observe to your Excellency and the Honorable Council that unless some person is directed to remain here that immediately upon my marching hence, it will be demolished by the emigrators to Kentucky. Previous to our arrival, they had destroyed the gates, drawn all the nails from the roofs, taken off all the boards, and plundered it of every article. I would therefore recommend for the benefit of the state to your Excellency and the Honorable Council, to adopt some mode for its preservation; otherwise, immediately upon our leaving it, it will again go to ruin.²

¹ This Return is so nearly like the previous one that it is omitted in this connection. Two privates had died and there were twenty-two sick, of the infantry.

² " [IN COUNCIL], PHILADELPHIA, *Wednesday, April 27, 1785.*

"On consideration, ordered that General [John] Neville be authorized upon his return to Washington county [Pa.], to place some fit person in the possession of the buildings at Fort McIntosh, with directions to keep them, and the public timber upon the adjoining lands, in a state of as much preservation as possible."

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

FORT MCINTOSH, *April 2, 1785.*

Sir:—I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency and the Honorable Council, a monthly Return of the Pennsylvania troops in the service of the United States, dated the first instant.¹

THOMSON² TO DICKINSON,SECRETARY'S OFFICE, *April 12, 1785.*

Sir:—I have the honor of transmitting you the inclosed acts [of Congress] of the 1st, 7th and 12th instant, relative to raising a body of troops for the protection of the northwestern frontiers, the defence of the inhabitants against the depredations of the Indians, for preventing unwarrantable intrusions on lands belonging to the United States, and to guard the public stores.³

¹ This Return is much like the preceding one. Col. Harmar however, says: "Ensign Armstrong, Ensign McDowell, one sergeant and one corporal, with twenty privates, are on command down the Ohio river, about eighty miles hence, with orders to drive off sundry persons who have presumed to settle on the lands of the United States, contrary to the orders of Congress." One private, he continues, had deserted since his last Return.

² Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress.

³ The reader will not fail to observe the additional objects in view in raising troops as expressed by these several acts of Congress to the ones indicated by the Resolutions of June 3, 1784,—which were only for the "taking possession of the western posts, as soon

As the United States in Congress assembled have been pleased by a late ordinance, of which I enclose a copy, to make it a part of the duty of the Secretary of Congress "to transmit to the several states all acts, ordinances, resolutions and recommendations of Congress, and to correspond with the states for the purpose of receiving communications from them relative to the execution of the same," I have embraced the earliest opportunity of forwarding the inclosed acts and trust your Excellency will favor me with an account of the steps taken by your state for raising the quota assigned, that I may make report thereof conformably to the said ordinance.

The honor, peace, and prosperity of our nation being objects very near my heart, nothing will give me greater pleasure than frequent opportunities of reporting to Congress the earnest and united endeavors of the several states to promote those great and desirable ends.

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

FORT McINTOSH, *May 1, 1785.*

Sir:—I have the honor to inclose to your Excellency and the Honorable Council, a monthly Return of the

as evacuated by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, for the protection of the northwestern frontiers, and for guarding the public stores." (See p. 29, note 1.) No mention is now made of the western posts; and the important objects are added,—“the defence of the inhabitants against the depredations of the Indians” and “preventing unwarrantable intrusions [by white people] on lands belonging to the United States [northwest of the Ohio river].”

Pennsylvania troops in the service of the United States, dated this day.¹

If your Excellency and the Honorable Council should be of opinion that it is necessary to appoint some person for the preservation of this fort, upon the troops marching hence, and have not already nominated one for that purpose, I beg leave to recommend Mr. David Duncan, of Pittsburgh, as a suitable person, and one who is desirous of taking charge of it.

Understanding that several vagabonds had presumed to improve the lands betwixt this and Fort Pitt, which have been appropriated by the Honorable, the Legislature of the state, for the redemption of the depreciation certificates, and apprehending that a removal of them would meet your Excellency's and the Honorable Council's approbation (although not in the line of my duty as a Continental officer), I have taken the liberty to detach an officer with a small party, who has destroyed their cabins and driven them from their improvements.

HARMAR TO [RICHARD HENRY LEE], THE PRESIDENT
OF CONGRESS.

FORT MCINTOSH, *May 1, 1785.*

Sir:—In obedience to the Instructions received from the Honorable the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, upon

¹ Col. Harmar's force, by this Return, was nearly the same as at his last. Captain Finney, Lieutenant Beatty, and Surgeon McDowell, were on furlough. One corporal of artillery was reported as having died within the month preceding.

their departure from this post, I have to inform your Excellency that I detached Ensign Armstrong, with a party of twenty men, furnished with fifteen days' provisions, on the 31st of March last, to disposses sundry persons who had presumed to settle on the lands of the United States on the western side of the Ohio river. The inclosed copy of the Instructions, together with the orders, were posted up at Wheeling, and distributed throughout the differents parts of the country, in order that all persons might be made fully acquainted therewith.

Ensign Armstrong having marched with his party as far down as opposite Wheeling, which is about seventy miles hence, pursuing the course of the river, and having executed his orders (excepting a few indulgences granted on account of the weather), returned on the 12th ultimo. I have the honor of inclosing to your Excellency his Report, with sundry petitions, handed him by the settlers; likewise the opinion of some reputable inhabitants on the eastern side of the river, with respect to them.¹

¹ It will be remembered that, in the letter of the Secretary of Congress—Charles Thomson—to Dickinson, dated April 12th, 1785, he says an act had been passed for raising a body of troops, the object being, among other things, to prevent unwarrantable intrusion on lands belonging to the United States. The attention of Congress was early called to the fact that a considerable emigration was going on across the Ohio and that settlers were claiming lands belonging to the United States.

Congress afterward took action in the matter, issuing a proclamation prohibiting and forbidding "all persons from making settlements on lands inhabited or claimed by Indians, without the limits or jurisdiction of any particular state." The following was the text :

On the 20th ultimo, I received the inclosed Representation, signed by sixty-six of them, praying for a further indulgence of time, and informing me that they had sent

“By the United States in Congress assembled. A proclamation.

“WHEREAS, by the ninth of the articles of confederation, it is among other things declared, that ‘the United States in Congress assembled have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the states; provided, that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated.’ And whereas, it is essential to the welfare and interest of the United States, as well as necessary for the maintenance of harmony and friendship with the Indians, not members of any of the states, that all cause of quarrel and complaint between them and the United States, or any of them, should be removed and prevented; therefore the United States in Congress assembled, have thought proper to issue their proclamation, and they do hereby prohibit and forbid all persons from making settlements on lands inhabited or claimed by Indians without the limits or jurisdiction of any particular state, and from purchasing or receiving any gift or cession of such lands or claims, without the express authority and directions of the United States in Congress assembled; and it is moreover declared, that every such purchase or settlement, gift or cession, not having the authority aforesaid, is null and void, and that no right or title will accrue in consequence.

“Done in Congress, at Princeton, this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, and of our sovereignty and independence the eighth.

“ELIAS BOUDINOT, President.

“CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.”

No attention whatever was paid to this proclamation. The consequence was that the settlements increased continually—so rapidly indeed, that in less than two years the United States found it neces-

on a petition to Congress on the subject. In answer to which, I thought it most expedient to grant them one month from the 21st ultimo to remove themselves, at the expiration of which time parties will be detached to drive

sary to drive off the settlers by force. To that end, the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, on the 24th of January, 1785, instructed Lieut. Col. Josiah Harmar, of the "First American Regiment," to employ such force as he might judge necessary "in driving off persons attempting to settle on the lands of the United States." In obedience to these instructions, that officer detached Ensign John Armstrong with a party of twenty men furnished with fifteen days' provisions to perform the task. The result is given in the above letter from Col. Harmar to the President of Congress.

The report of Ensign Armstrong was, in substance, that he marched down the Ohio, March 31st; crossed the Little Beaver on the 1st of April; dispossessed one family at that place; other families at Yellow Creek, at Mingo Bottom, or Old Town, at Norris's Town, at Haglin's, or Mercer's Town, and at a place opposite Wheeling; that he arrested a man named Ross, who seemed to be obstreperous, and sent him to Wheeling in irons; that he was threatened by a man named Charles Norris, with a party of armed men, but upon showing his authority there was no further offensive demonstration; and that at Mercer's Town he had learned that Charles Norris and John Carpenter had been elected justices of the peace and had acted as such.

The "opinion of some reputable inhabitants" was thus explained by Ensign Armstrong to his colonel:

"As the following information through you to the Honorable the Congress, may be of some service, I trust you will not be displeased therewith. It is the opinion of many sensible men (with whom I conversed on my return from Wheeling) that if the Honorable the Congress do not fall on some speedy method to prevent people from settling on the lands of the United States west of the Ohio, that country will soon be inhabited by a banditti, whose actions are a disgrace to human nature.

off all settlers within the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from this garrison, which, in my present situation, is all that is practicable. The number of settlers farther down the river is very considerable, and, from all

“You will in a few days receive an address from the magistracy of Ohio county [Virginia], through which most of those people pass, many of whom are flying from justice. I have, sir, taken some pains to distribute copies of your Instructions, with those from the Honorable the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, into almost every settlement west of the Ohio and had them posted up at most public places on the east side of the river, in the neighborhood through which those people pass. Notwithstanding they have seen and read those Instructions, they are moving to the unsettled countries by forties and fifties. From the best information I could receive, there are at the falls of the Hockhocking upwards of three hundred families; at the Muskingum, a number equal.

“At Moravian Town there are several families and more than fifteen hundred on the rivers Miami and Scioto. From Wheeling to that place, there is scarcely one bottom on the river but has one or more families living thereon. In consequence of the advertisement by John Emerson, I am assured meetings will be held at the times therein mentioned. That at Menzon’s, or Haglin’s town, mentioned in my report of yesterday, the inhabitants had come to a resolution to comply with the requisitions of the advertisement.”

The following is “the advertisement” alluded to :

“ADVERTISEMENT.

“*March 12, 1785.*

“Notice is hereby given to the inhabitants of the west side of the Ohio river that there is to be an election for the choosing of members of the convention for the framing a constitution for the governing of the inhabitants, the election to be held on the 10th day of April next ensuing, viz.: one election to be held at the mouth of the Miami river, and one to be held at the mouth of the Scioto river, and one on the Muskingum river, and one at the dwelling

accounts, daily increasing. I would therefore, before I proceed further in this business, beg to know the pleasure of your Excellency and your particular orders upon the subject.¹

ARMSTRONG² TO HARMAR.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, PHILADELPHIA, *May 10, 1785.*

Sir :—Inclosed is a second copy of the late resolutions of Congress for raising a new regiment. I have also to

house of Jonas Menzon, the members to be chosen to meet at the mouth of the Scioto, on the twentieth day of the same month.

"I do certify that all mankind, agreeable to every constitution formed in America, have an undoubted right to pass into every vacant country, and there to form their constitution, and that from the confederation of the whole United States, Congress is not empowered to forbid them, neither is Congress empowered from that confederation to make any sale of the uninhabited lands to pay the public debts, which is to be by a tax levied and lifted [collected] by authority of the legislature of each state.

"JOHN EMERSON."

¹The "Representation" mentioned by Col. Harmar in his letter to the President of Congress, was to the effect that the settlers desired to act consistent with their duty to their country and the commands of the Legislature, and asked for indulgence in time for removing their families and effects. The petitioners asked delay until they could hear from their papers which they had forwarded to be laid before Congress. Colonel Harmar replied, allowing the indulgence mentioned in his letter, but notifying them that his orders were peremptory.

² John Armstrong, Jr. He was appointed Secretary of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, March 25, 1783, in place of Timothy Matlack.

repeat the requisition of Council, that you would be as early in communicating to them, the names, etc., of such of the officers as choose to continue under the present arrangement, as possible.

Captain Finney will inform you of another ordinance, providing for the discharge of the troops now in service. The time and manner of carrying this into effect are committed to the Secretary of War. Council are, however, of opinion that should no order of this kind reach you before the enlistment of the troops expires, you will render a very important service to the state in keeping the men together until the sense of the Legislature can be taken upon the mode of raising their proportion of the new corps. The Assembly will begin to sit sometime in August. I have also to inform you that under the very improper and unaccountable reduction which has been made in the pay of the officers, Council have thought it their duty to bring about if possible, a reconsideration of that part of the ordinance; and they cannot but flatter themselves that such an alteration will yet take place as must make your continuance in service as agreeable as they could wish it.

THOMSON TO DICKINSON.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, *May 12, 1785.*

Sir:—I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency an act of the United States in Congress assembled, for laying out into distinct states, the western territory ceded to the Union by individual states, and stating the

principle on which the temporary and permanent governments of the new states shall be established ; also, an ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the western territory ; and subsequent measures taken for carrying the ordinance into effect.

Having received no answer to my letter of the 12th of April last, covering the acts of the 1st, 7th, and 12th of that month, relative to the raising a body of troops for the purposes therein mentioned, I must beg the favor of your Excellency to communicate to me the steps taken by your state for raising the quota assigned, that I may be enabled to make report thereof.

KNOX' TO DICKINSON.

(Circular.)

WAR OFFICE, NEW YORK, *May* 19, 1785.

Sir :—As Secretary of the United States for the War Department, I have to request that your Excellency will have the goodness to inform me of the measures which have been adopted by the state of Pennsylvania to raise the proportion of troops required by the act of Congress of the 12th of April last.

It is important to the public interest that these troops should be raised as soon as possible, as a great part of them are to attend the Commissioners of Indian Affairs

! Gen. Henry Knox, Secretary of War.

upon the Wabash or Illinois, the distance of which places require that the troops should be put early into motion that the treaty may be held in due season.

DICKINSON TO KNOX.

IN COUNCIL [PHILADELPHIA], *May 21, 1785.*

Sir :—This day we have had the honor of receiving your letter of the 19th. The act of Congress of the 12th of April has been transmitted by us to Col. Harmar ; and as the General Assembly is adjourned to the 23d of August, we have given him our opinion that if no order for the discharge of the troops reaches him before the enlistment expires, he will render an important service to the state in keeping the men together until the sense of the Legislature can be taken upon the mode of raising the proportion of Pennsylvania. If such an order for the discharge of the troops should be given, we apprehend many very considerable inconveniences will necessarily result from the measure.

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

FORT MCINTOSH, *May 24, 1785.*

Sir :—I was honored last evening with your letter of the 26th ultimo, inclosing me the late resolution of Congress respecting a new arrangement of the corps. In-

closed be pleased to receive a list of the officers who are willing to continue upon the present establishment.¹ If two captains only are to be appointed, I would beg leave to recommend seniority. Lieutenant Herbert has been suspended in his command the chief part of the time since the corps was raised, and, in my opinion, is unworthy of command.

The reduction of the pay of officers appears to be rather parsimonious. What the views of Congress may be, in abridging the pay, the officers know not. If his Excellency the President, and the Honorable the Council,

¹ The list was as follows : Names and rank of the officers of the Pennsylvania line who are at present in the service of the United States and are willing to remain upon the establishment agreeable to the act of Congress of the 7th of April, 1785:

Names.	Rank.	Dates of Appointment.
Josiah Harmar,	Lieutenant Colonel,	August 12, 1784
Walter Finney,	Captain,	" " "
David Ziegler,	Captain,	" " "
William McCurdy,	Captain,	" " "
Thomas Douglass,	Captain,	" " "
Joseph Ashton,	Lieutenant,	" " "
Stewart Herbert,	Lieutenant,	" " "
Erkurius Beatty,	Lieutenant,	" " "
Thomas Doyle,	Lieutenant,	" " "
John Armstrong,	Ensign,	" " "
Ebenezer Denny,	Ensign,	" " "
Nathan McDowell,	Ensign,	October 21, 1784.
John McDowell,	Surgeon,	August 12, "
Richard Allison,	Mate,	" " "

should think proper to continue me, I am willing to remain upon the present arrangement. Pay and subsistence, any further than to support the rank and dignity of an officer, I despise.

HARMAR TO KNOX.

FORT MCINTOSH, *June 1, 1785.*

Sir :—It is but lately I had the pleasure of hearing of your appointment [as Secretary of War], otherwise, the Returns should have been forwarded sooner.

The Wyandot and Delaware nations have brought in their prisoners, fifteen in number, agreeably to treaty, and the hostages left in my possession are now dismissed. These nations are friendly, and I believe wish to cultivate a good understanding with the Americans. The Shawanese make great professions of peace, and are desirous of a treaty being held with them. The Cherokees are hostile, and have killed and scalped seven people near the mouth of the Scioto, about three hundred and seventy miles from here.

Speeches have been continually sent by the British from Detroit to the Indians since the treaty [at Fort McIntosh], and I have good intelligence that several traders have been among them, using all means to make them entertain a bad opinion of the Americans. One Simon Girty, I am informed, has been to Sandusky for that purpose. I have taken every means in my power to

counteract their proceedings, and have directed the Indians not to listen to their lies, but to tie and bring in here any of those villains who spread reports among them injurious to the United States, in order that they may be punished.¹

The Honorable the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, previous to their departure, left me instructions to drive off all surveyors or settlers on the lands of the United States, in consequence of which a party has been detached who drove them off as far as seventy miles from this post. The number further down the river is immense, and, unless Congress enters into immediate measures, it will be impossible to prevent the lands being settled.

I have written some time since upon the subject, requesting particular orders how to conduct myself, as it is out of my power to sweep them further than the distance of one hundred and twenty or one hundred and fifty miles

¹ The acknowledgement of the independence of the United States by Great Britain, could it have been immediately followed in the western country, by the yielding possession to the former of the military posts of the latter, would have brought at once to terms the various Indian nations therein located, and the loss of the fur-trade to the English would have been the result. It was therefore, of vital importance to the fur-trader, that the different tribes should not be driven from their hunting grounds northwest of the Ohio. To stir up an animosity, or, rather to keep alive the war-spirit engendered in the Revolution, was their policy. And the agents of Great Britain were not slow in urging the Indians to stand up for what they told them were their rights. A powerful agent in this business was Simon Girty.

from here. This is a matter of so much importance that perhaps you may judge it necessary to remind Congress of it.¹

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

FORT MCINTOSH, *June 1, 1785.*

Sir:—I have the honor to inclose to your Excellency and the Honorable Council, a monthly Return of this date of the Pennsylvania troops in the service of the United States.² In consequence of the resolution of Congress of the 7th of April last, I am daily expecting instructions from your Excellency and the Honorable Council to discharge the men, and to re-enlist for three years such as are willing to serve. The reduction of the officers' pay,

¹ This letter was referred in Congress to a committee, who brought in a report approving the conduct of Colonel Harmar ; also authorizing him to remove his troops, and take post at or near the Ohio, between Muskingum and the Great Miami, "which he shall conceive most advisable for further carrying into effect the before mentioned orders," and appropriating six hundred dollars for the purpose of transporting the troops and their baggage.

² Present fit for duty of the infantry, were reported by Col. Harmar at this date, 156 men ; present, sick, five. Of the artillery company, there were present, fit for duty, forty-six ; present, sick, two. Captain Finney, Lieutenant Doyle (quartermaster), and Surgeon McDowell, were on furlough ; Lieutenant Beatty (the paymaster), on command. Lieutenant Herbert was still suspended from his command ; no chaplain was yet appointed. One private had died since the last Return.

in our humble opinion, is very parsimonious. The pay of the soldiers (provided regular monthly or weekly payments take place) is quite sufficient.

HARMAR TO JOHNSTON.¹

FORT McINTOSH, *June 21, 1785.*

Dear Johnston:—I am hourly expecting the arrival of the Commissioners, as I understand a treaty is to be held at Post St. Vincent.² Between you and me, my dear Johnston, vain and ineffectual will all treaties be until we take possession of the posts. One treaty held at Detroit would give dignity and consequence to the United States, and answer every purpose. The British have been sending speeches among the Indians continually, since the treaty was held at this place, the purport of which you may be assured was for no good. The first grand object, therefore, in my humble opinion, would be to dispossess them and then we shall have the Indians friendly to our interest. The nations down the river [Ohio] have killed and scalped several adventurers who have settled on their lands.

I wish you were here to view the beauties of Fort McIntosh. What think you of pike of 25 lbs.; perch of 15 to 20 lbs.; cat-fish of 40 lbs.; bass, pickerel, sturgeon, etc., etc.

¹ Colonel Francis Johnston; formerly, it will be remembered, one of the Pennsylvania Commissioners to the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784, and to that of Fort McIntosh, in 1785.

² Now Vincennes, Indiana.

You would certainly enjoy yourself. It is very fortunate there is such an abundance of fish, as the contractor for this place, some time past, has failed in his supplies of beef. This would be a glorious season for Colonel Wood, or any extravagant lover of strawberries; the earth is most luxuriantly covered with them; we have them in such plenty that I am almost surfeited with them; the addition of fine rich cream is not lacking.

HARMAR TO MIFFLIN.¹FORT MCINTOSH, *June 25, 1785.*

Dear General:—I am honored with your letter of the 7th of May last, sent me by Major Prevost, of Pittsburgh. The pitiful reduction of the officers' pay, I am at a loss to account for. The Commissioners are daily expected for the treaty on the Wabash. In confidence, my dear General, I will assure you, in my opinion, all these treaties will be ineffectual. Possessing the British posts ought to be the first grand object, then a treaty at Detroit would answer all purposes. The United States will never have either dignity or consequence among the Indians until this is effected.² The official letter, inclosing you Dr.

¹ Thomas Mifflin, at that time Speaker of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, but previously President of Congress.

² This advice it had been well could the United States have acted upon; but the British posts were not given up;—all treaties with the Indians, as a consequence, were "ineffectual" until, after

Franklin's receipt for the delivery of the treaty, etc., I hope you have received.

P. S.—The Indians down the [Ohio] river, viz.: the Shawanese, Miamis, Cherokees, and Kickapoos, have killed and scalped several adventurers—settlers on their lands.

ARMSTRONG TO KNOX.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, PHILADELPHIA, *June 30, 1785.*

Sir:—In answer to your letter of the 23d instant, I have the orders of Council to inform you that it is with

a bloody war, the savages were conquered by Gen. Wayne, when a lasting one was signed at Greenville, in 1795.

Baron Steuben was appointed by Washington, July 12, 1784, to receive possession of the western posts, and he proceeded to Canada for that purpose, meeting on the eighth of August, Gen. Haldimand, to whom he submitted his instructions. But the General said he had not received orders for making any arrangements to evacuate the posts, nor for any other object than a cessation of hostilities, with which he had strictly complied. So the Baron was obliged to return without accomplishing the object of his mission. The posts occupied by the British were Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburgh, N. Y.), Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac. It may here be premised that, although the United States soon made other efforts to gain possession of these posts, it was withheld by Great Britain, on certain excuses, for more than twenty years; and they were not even then given up until what is generally known as "the Jay treaty" had been ratified by the two governments. Meanwhile another post had been erected and occupied, by the British. It was on the Maumee, within the present limits of Ohio.

great concern they understand that the troops of this state under the command of Col. Harmar are to be discharged by order of Congress, after the communications made to the Secretary at War by their letter of the 21st of last month, and that the circumstances will not permit the General Assembly to be convened before the time to which they stand adjourned.

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

FORT MCINTOSH, *July 1, 1785.*

Sir:—I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency and the Honorable Council, a monthly Return of this date of the Pennsylvania troops in the service of the United States.¹

HARMAR TO KNOX.

FORT MCINTOSH, *July 16, 1785.*

Sir:—On the 11th inst., I was informed that three chiefs and twenty-five Indians of the Six Nations had

¹ Col. Harmar reports to the above date, present fit for duty, of the infantry companies of Captains Finney, Ziegler, and McCurdy, one hundred and fifty-one; present, sick, nine. He also reports present, of the artillery company (Captain Douglass), forty-eight. He then adds: "Lieutenant Beatty (the paymaster) on command, Ensign Armstrong on furlough. No chaplain is yet appointed. Ensign Denny acts as adjutant pro tem. One waiter sent to Philadelphia and discharged since last Return. At the request of the Secretary of War, Lieutenant Herbert, who was suspended, is now restored and has resumed his command."

arrived at Fort Pitt, and wished very much to speak with the commanding officer. Agreeable to their desire, I rode up to Pittsburgh and met them in council, when, to my great surprise, the Cornplanter, the principal chief, had the original articles of the treaty which was concluded with them at Fort Stanwix along with him, and, toward the close of the speech, said they were burdensome and wished to deliver them up. I have the honor to inclose you their speech and my answer to it.

It is reported that a Mr. Brant¹ has lately arrived from London, who, with the commanding officer of the British in that quarter, has informed the Six Nations that their lands were never ceded to the Americans by the King of Great Britain, in consequence of which these chiefs complain of being accused by their nations of treachery, and say they are in danger of their own people. They have left Fort Pitt highly satisfied to appearance with the answer to their speech; but so long as the British keep possession of the posts, it is very evident that all treaties held by us with the Indians will have but little weight with them.²

¹ Capt. Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), the famous Mohawk chief.

² "Fort McIntosh, 1785.—Winter passed away—no orders for marching; did expect, as soon as the season would permit, to march for Detroit. April and May delightful season—frequent excursions into the country—fishing and hunting. Officers visit Fort Pitt, where we left a lieutenant and thirty men. Fort Pitt and Fort McIntosh both handsome places. Fort Pitt erected by the British long before the late war—an elegant work, regular pentagon; vast labor and money expended here. Ditch and parapet—with pickets and

HARMAR TO ARMSTRONG.

FORT MCINTOSH, *July 17, 1785.*

Sir :—I have been honored with your favor of the 10th of May, enclosing me a duplicate copy of the resolutions of Congress for raising a new regiment; likewise with another letter of the 10th of June, informing me of the requisition from the War Office respecting the number of officers to be furnished from our state. I have also received a letter from Mr. Trimble, enclosing me, by direction of Council, a copy of a letter from the assistant Secretary at War, of the 23ult., and a copy of the answer of Council thereto, for my information.

By a letter of the 23d of June from Major North, inspector, he requests me to order the troops under my command to be mustered by such officer as I shall see fit to appoint, as the time has so elapsed that it has been thought

fencing, and everything in the most complete order. Very considerable quantity of military stores at this place. Indians come in to trade, will get drunk—a white man killed by a drunken Indian at Pittsburgh—people rise and attempt to put the Indian to death. Express sent to Col. Harmar at McIntosh. I was ordered to Pitt with certain instructions to Lieutenant Ashton, who commanded there. The Indian guarded to county jail. Pittsburgh in Westmoreland county. Hannastown, about thirty miles east, the seat of justice. Cornplanter, chief of the Senecas, arrived at Pitt. He had signed the treaty of McIntosh [Fort Stanwix]; was dissatisfied—his people reflected on him; came to revoke. Col. Harmar was informed of this, and invited up to Pitt—I accompanied him. Meeting appointed in the King's Orchard. Speeches on both sides taken down. Cornplanter dismissed with assurances, &c., but no revoking."—*Denny's Journal.*

necessary by the present head of the War Department, for him to postpone his journey here. In consequence of which I have ordered the troops to prepare for muster on the 19th inst.

Council may rest assured that I shall use every exertion in my power to keep the men together until the sense of the Legislature can be taken upon the mode of raising this proportion of the new corps. The men's times begin to expire on the 19th of next month; nevertheless, I hope to be able to retain them in service until the pleasure of the Legislature is known, and until I receive instructions from Council for re-enlisting them.

Major North also writes me "that the paymaster, upon appearing at New York with the abstracts for pay, will receive in notes the amount due to each man to the time they are mustered; and, upon a certificate signed by me of the time in which each man's enlistment will expire, he supposes that a sum on account, sufficient to pay them to the time of their discharge will be granted."

The name of *notes* conveys to the office's an idea of *discounts*—twenty or five-and-twenty per cent. perhaps. If Council can consistently interfere, they flatter themselves that they will take their own officers and troops under their immediate protection, and either secure to them the promised pay, or order these *notes* to be negotiated in such manner as they in their wisdom shall see fit, to guard against depreciation.

We learn with pleasure that Council are endeavoring to bring about a re-consideration of that part of the ordinance of Congress respecting the reduction of the pay of

the officers. The disproportion is so great that the stroke seems to be particularly levelled at me. Fifty dollars per month will not support the station. We would fain hope that an alteration may yet take place.

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

FORT MCINTOSH, *August 1, 1785.*

Sir:—I have the honor to inclose to your Excellency and the Honorable Council, a monthly Return of this date of the Pennsylvania troops in the service of the United States.¹ The troops have been mustered up to the 19th ult., and the rolls transmitted to Major North, inspector. Enclosed be pleased to receive an abstract of the muster.²

¹ By the Return of Col. Harmar of August 1, 1785, the infantry companies of Captains Finney, Ziegler and McCurdy, were able to report as present, fit for duty, one hundred and forty-six men ; four present, sick ; while the artillery company (Captain Douglass'), reported present, fit for duty, 36 ; sick, present, 2 ; on command, 10 ; total—48. Col. Harmar also remarks : " Captain McCurdy, Captain Douglass and Ensign Armstrong are on furlough. Lieut. Ashton, one sergeant, one corporal, one bombardier, two gunners, seven matrosses and eight privates are on command at Fort Pitt."

² The "abstract of the muster of a detachment of the First American Regiment, commanded by Josiah Harmar, Lieutenant Colonel Commanding [dated at] Fort McIntosh, July 19, 1785," gives fifty-five non-commissioned officers and privates in Captain Finney's company of infantry ; sixty-one in Captain Ziegler's company ; and fifty-nine in Captain McCurdy's. The whole number in Captain Douglass' artillery company was forty-eight. Of these, the term of service of 112 expired in August, 1785 ; that of 101, in September ; nine, in October ; and one, in December.

Although I can receive no instructions for recruiting until the Honorable Legislature convenes, your Excellency and the Honorable Council may rest assured that I shall use every exertion in my power to retain the troops in service. Their time begins to expire on the 19th instant. I shall take upon me to form an enlistment for securing such as are willing to serve for three years, until your Excellency's further pleasure is known.

The Ohio river at this season, is remarkably low and usually continues so during this and the next month. It is now fordable opposite the garrison. The treaty to the Wabash, therefore, cannot possibly be carried on before the month of October or November next¹. I would not wish to be in too great a hurry in recruiting. There are at least fifty men in the present corps who are not fit to be re-enlisted. A little time would procure a corps that will reflect honor to the state. If about five-and-twenty rifles could be obtained to occasionally arm that number of infantry, I should think it advisable. I have ordered Ensign Armstrong to receive your Excellency's instructions, and when he has recruited thirty stout, able-bodied men to rejoin the corps.

KNOX TO DICKINSON.

WAR OFFICE [NEW YORK], *August 9, 1785.*

Sir:—I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency a resolution of Congress respecting the corps under

¹ This treaty was in fact "carried on" not upon the Wabash but near the mouth of the Miami.

Lieutenant Colonel Harmar.¹ The Legislatures of Connecticut and New York only have assembled since the requisition of Congress for troops in April [last], and therefore there is a total deficiency of those to be furnished by Pennsylvania and [New] Jersey. The whole number voted by Congress will be necessary to prevent incroachments on the public lands and for the protection of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs. I am persuaded your Excellency and the Legislature of Pennsylvania will be impressed with the importance of taking the earliest measures to retain as many of the best soldiers under Col. Harmar as possible.

DICKINSON TO [GEN. KNOX] SECRETARY AT WAR.

IN COUNCIL, [PHILADELPHIA], *August 13, 1785.*

Sir:—We have this day received your letter of the ninth instant, with the resolution of Congress of the 20th of last month. That resolution, transmitted to us by the Secretary of Congress, we forwarded several days ago to

¹ "By the United States in Congress assembled. July 20, 1785. On the report of a committee to whom was referred a letter of the 18th, from the Secretary of War.

"*Resolved*, That Lieutenant Colonel Harmar, commander of the militia in the service of the United States, use his best endeavors to retain in service the militia of Pennsylvania under his command whose times of service are nearly expiring, until the Legislature of that state shall be in session and determine on furnishing its quota of troops under the resolutions of the 1st, 7th and 12th of April last."

Col. Harmar. By a letter from him this moment come to our hands, we are "assured that every exertion shall be used to keep the men together until the sense of the [Pennsylvania] Legislature can be taken."

By your letter of the 25th of April, we perceive that one captain and two lieutenants of artillery and two captains, two lieutenants and two ensigns of infantry, are assigned to this state. This is the same arrangement that was for it meditated last year, but upon our representations was amended, and three captains, three lieutenants and three ensigns of infantry were appointed by this Commonwealth, besides a captain and two lieutenants of artillery.

The whole regiment is to consist of ten companies and seven hundred men and therefore each company will consist of seventy men. Three companies and fifty men are required from Pennsylvania and only officers for three companies are allotted to her. As the officers now commissioned [by Pennsylvania] would choose to continue in the service, we cannot think of dismissing them, and therefore hope that on further consideration, as the resolutions of Congress this year are similar to those of the last, the same arrangements will now be made that finally took place last year.

HARMAR TO DICKINSON.

FORT MCINTOSH, *September 1, 1785.*

Sir:—I have the honor to inclose to your Excellency and the Honorable Council, a monthly Return of this date,

of the Pennsylvania troops in the service of the United States.¹ The time of one-half the men has expired, and notwithstanding I have used every exertion in my power to retain them in service until the Honorable Legislature convened, such is their want of confidence in the public respecting their pay and their wish to go down the country, that I find it impossible to re-engage them here according to my former expectations.

As Congress have been pleased to revise their resolutions and to order that only one full company of infantry shall attend the treaty, which is to be held at the mouth of the Great Miami, I think it may be reduced to a certainty that I shall be able to re-enlist that number. Forty-four are already engaged, and two officers are at Fort Pitt on the recruiting service, who, when the men have had out their frolic, I trust will be successful.²

¹ Not found.

² "Summer nearly gone. Men have been enlisted but for one year; orders to re-enlist for three. Of the four [Pennsylvania] companies, we re-engaged seventy effective men—rest all discharged. Officers went on the recruiting service. Anxious to know how I was to be disposed of. Proper complement of officers kept for the new company. Did count upon returning over the mountains, but would have preferred remaining at Pittsburgh. Dislike the recruiting service. The new company ordered to prepare to embark for the Great Miami, where another treaty is intended to be held. Generals Butler and Parsons, two of the Commissioners, arrive. The party all ready to descend the river, when the Colonel [Harmar] instructed me to prepare and accompany them; this, to me, was very unexpected. The company has its complement of officers; I was extra. Must move."—*Denny's Journal*.

Enclosed is the form of an enlistment, which is copied from the old one, excepting the alteration of the resolve of Congress and the substitution of three years instead of one. No justice of the peace being at hand, I judged it would advance the public service by administering the oath myself.

The bearer, Captain Ziegler, a very deserving officer, has orders to wait upon your Excellency and the Honorable Council, for recruiting instructions. After having re-engaged about ninety or one hundred men in this quarter, I propose going to Philadelphia to complete the business. The men who have been discharged and are gone downwards¹, will soon be tired of work; and I am well convinced there will be little difficulty in speedily recruiting the quota of troops required from our state.

DICKINSON TO PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATES IN
CONGRESS.

IN COUNCIL, [PHILADELPHIA], *September 7, 1785.*

Gentlemen:—We inclose copies of two letters from the War Office and of one from us respecting the proportion of officers and privates in the federal regiment to be furnished by this state and of the late of Assembly on that subject.

To the confederation and to that law we shall hold ourselves bound to adhere; and therefore we desire that you

¹ That is, "down the country"—over the mountains to their homes in the east.

will immediately apply to Congress and obtain their assent to the arrangement adopted and executed last year, upon which Pennsylvania supplied one lieutenant colonel commandant, three captains, three lieutenants, and three ensigns of infantry, and one captain and one lieutenant of artillery.

ARMSTRONG TO KNOX.

PHILADELPHIA, SECRETARY'S OFFICE, *October 20, 1785.*

Sir:—I have the honor to inform you that from the resolutions of Council of the 8th of September and 20th of October, 1785, it appears that the following gentlemen were appointed to command the quota of troops required from this state, in forming the regiment of federal militia, agreeably to an ordinance of Congress and a law of this Commonwealth, viz.: Lieutenant Colonel Commandant—Josiah Harmar; Captains—Walter Finney, David Ziegler and Wm. McCurdy; Lieutenants of Infantry—Erkurius Beatty, Thomas Doyle and John Armstrong; Ensigns—Nathaniel McDowell, Ebenezer Denny and Edward Spear; Captain of Artillery— ——— Ferguson; Lieutenant of Artillery—Joseph Ashton; Surgeon—John McDowell; Surgeon's Mate—Richard Allison.¹

¹ “[IN COUNCIL] PHILADELPHIA, *Thursday, September 8, 1785.*

“An act for furnishing the quota of troops required by Congress for the protection of the northwestern frontiers and for other purposes, passed on the sixth day of September, 1785 [by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania], being transmitted to Council, an order was taken that the following persons be continued in the

DOUGHTY¹ TO KNOX.FORT McINTOSH, *October 21, 1785.*

I have the honor to inclose you a copy of the proceedings of a conference held at this place between myself and some Delaware and Wyandot Indians, who came to me in consequence of the affair at Tuscarawas, which I mentioned to you in my letter of the 5th of October.² I beg leave to submit to you the inclosed information of John

command of the troops aforesaid : Josiah Harmar, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant. Of Infantry—Walter Finney, David Ziegler, William McCurdy, Captains ; Erkurius Beatty, Thomas Doyle, John Armstrong, Lieutenants ; Ebenezer Denny, Nathaniel McDowell, Ensigns. Joseph Ashton, Lieutenant of Artillery ; John McDowell, Surgeon ; Richard Allison, Mate.

“ *Ordered*, that the commission of lieutenant issued by this board to Stewart Herbert, Esquire, be and is hereby revoked.

“ *Ordered*, that the further appointments of a captain of artillery and ensign of infantry be postponed for consideration.”

“ [IN COUNCIL], PHILADELPHIA, *Thursday, October 20, 1785.*

“ Council this day proceeded to the appointment of a captain of artillery and ensign of infantry, to complete the number of officers required of this state, in forming the federal militia regiment commanded by Colonel Josiah Harmar, when ——— Ferguson, Esq., was appointed captain of artillery, and Edward Spear, ensign of infantry.”

¹ Capt. John Doughty, “ Major Commandant ” at Fort McIntosh, under Col. Harmar. He commanded a New York company of artillery, reaching Fort McIntosh Sept. 7, 1785. See next letter.

² Not found.

Leith¹ and Alexander McCormick. The latter is a trader who lives at the Ottawa towns. He is warmly recommended to me by Col. Harmar as a friend to the country. He tells me it is impossible to get his effects from that country this fall, which obliges him to winter in the neighborhood of Detroit. From the circumstance of being within the power of the British, he requests that his name may not be known. He appears to be an intelligent man, and well acquainted with Indian affairs.²

Notwithstanding the submission of the Delaware and Wyandot Indians made to me at the conference, and their professions of peace, I am induced to believe that their dispositions are hostile, because in the murder of Chambers at Tuscarawas, there were twenty or thirty Delaware Indians, with one of their chiefs, present; and it does not appear that they took any steps to prevent the outrage of the seven Wyandots, except to save the life and property of their friend Leith, who was an adopted brother; besides, Mr. McCormick informs me that he is well assured that the murder committed at the mouth of

¹ The information here spoken of as given by John Leith will be found in full in Wm. Henry Smith's "St. Clair Papers," Vol. II, p. 632. "A Short Biography of John Leeth [Leith]" was published in 1831, at Lancaster, O., in which the affair at Tuscarawas is mentioned. A reprint of this Biography, with Illustrative Notes by C. W. Butterfield, was published in 1883, by Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati.

² The statement of Alexander McCormick is given in full in the "St. Clair Papers," Vol. II, p. 10. It is, also, along with Leith's, reprinted in the Cincinnati edition of "Leith's Biography."

the Hockhocking, this summer, of five or six people, was done by the Wyandots and Delawares; indeed, every account that I have had confirms me in the opinion that we shall have trouble in this country ere long, unless something is done at the present treaty [the one to be holden at the mouth of the Great Miami] to avert the storm; and I must confess my expectations are not very flattering from this quarter, because I am well informed that some nations will not go to it, and those that do go have no idea of ceding their lands to us upon the terms of the last treaty [the one held at Fort McIntosh]. The Indian representation at this place last winter was so very partial from the few tribes that appeared and the objects of the treaty of so general concern, that the terms of it are far from being considered as binding upon the tribes to the westward.

This treaty [at Fort McIntosh] and the one at Fort Stanwix, with the steps the Honorable the Continental Congress have thought fit to take in sending out the surveyors¹, have had the effect to unite the Indians and induce them to make a common cause of what they suppose their present grievances. They are told by the British, and they are full in the persuasion, that the territory in question was never ceded to us by Britain further than respects the jurisdiction or putting the Indians under the protection of the United States. From this reasoning, they draw a conclusion that our claim in consequence of

¹ Surveyors had been sent out by the General Government to survey lands beyond the Ohio. See next letter.

that cession ought not to deprive them of their lands without purchase. I believe you may depend upon it that this is the reasoning of their chiefs. I am so informed by several persons who have been among them. Our acting upon the late treaty made at this place last winter, in beginning to survey their country, is certainly one great cause of their present uneasiness.

If a confederacy of the Indian tribes to the westward should take place, of which there is a prospect, they will become very formidable from their numbers. Should an event of this kind appear probable, from what information Congress may have before them, it appears to me evidently for our interest that some steps should be taken to engage some of their nations in our favor; in this case, I beg leave to offer it as my opinion that one great step to be pursued should be a distribution of a few presents among them, and a constant intercourse with them by emissaries well acquainted with their language and manners, who shall always be in their towns, counteracting the unfavorable impressions that are daily forming against us. This policy was pursued by the French, and is now by the British, whose agents are constantly in their towns, conciliating their friendships and trade to the almost total exclusion of our people.¹

¹ This letter, considering the short time Capt. Doughty had been at Fort McIntosh, is certainly a remarkable one. He had a clear idea of the dangers which threatened the Government beyond the Ohio. He had already divined the real cause of the dissatisfaction of the Indians; and, had his advice been taken, possibly the Indian war which followed might have been averted.

HARMAR TO KNOX.

PHILADELPHIA, *October 22, 1785.*

Sir:—I have the honor to inform you of my arrival at this place on the 7th inst. Previous to my leaving Fort McIntosh, the following arrangements were made to the westward, viz.: a full company of infantry was raised with much difficulty from the remains of the old Pennsylvania quota, and embarked under command of Captain Finney, with General Butler, on the 29th ult., to attend the treaty which was to be held at the mouth of the Great Miami.

After the treaty is concluded, I have given Captain Finney written orders to secure himself from insult at the Miami by fortifying his winter quarters, or if the Commissioners should be of opinion that it would be most eligible to assume any other position, as I conceive them best acquainted with that part of the country, his orders are to obey their directions on that head. On the 7th ult., Captain [John] Doughty's company of artillery arrived at Fort McIntosh. I gave him written orders to take post at or near the mouth of Muskingum, about one hundred and forty miles below [Fort] McIntosh and to stockade or pallisade himself for his own security, as he should judge most proper.¹ Captain [Jonathan] Heart's company of infantry I met on the 7th inst., upon the Laurel Hill, about four days march from Fort Pitt. I have given him

¹ This resulted in the erection afterward of Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum.

orders to expedite his march, as he would be on time to go down the river with Captain Doughty, and to put himself under his command.¹

This position at [the mouth of the] Muskingum will answer the valuable object of removing the intruders from the public lands² should any hereafter presume to encroach upon them, which I do not believe will be the case, as shortly before I left [Fort] McIntosh, they sent up to me a most humble representation in behalf of the whole, purporting that they were convinced that they had behaved disorderly, and praying, as the last indulgence, that they might only be permitted to stay a short time and gather their crops, after which they would instantly depart. Lenity I thought to be out of the question, and have directed Captain Doughty, on his way down, to burn and destroy any remaining cabins between [Fort] McIntosh and Muskingum.³ It will also cover the Continental surveyors, in some measure, in their laying off the

¹ From this it will be seen that Capt. Heart and his company made a short stay at Pittsburgh.

² The position which was chosen was a good one ; but the object it answered proved quite a different one from that suggested by Col. Harmar ; for he soon had to deal with hostile Indians instead of white settlers.

³ Notwithstanding the efforts put forth by Harmar and the officers under him, the trespassers upon the lands west and northwest of the Ohio were not all driven to the east side of that river. There were some, it is certain, who did not return ; but these were not gathered together in any numbers ; they were of a roving class. The first *permanent* settlement was that of Marietta, in 1788.

seven ranges of townships¹ and convince the Indians that Congress means to protect the legal settlers on the lands ceded to them by the treaty. For these reasons I judged it a preferable position to the mouth of the Scioto, which I thought to be rather too far down the [Ohio] river.² Having thus arranged matters to the westward, I have, agreeably to your permission, repaired to this place, in order to expedite the recruiting service.

¹ The surveying of Government lands beyond the Ohio was first authorized by the Ordinance of May 20, 1785. It was put in charge of Thomas Hutchins, the geographer. The work commenced in September, 1785, at the point where the west boundary line of Pennsylvania crosses the Ohio river. Fear of the Indians soon interrupted the work and the survey was abandoned for the season.

² It will be remembered that Col. Harmar was authorized by Congress to remove his troops down the river—between Muskingum and the Great Miami—the better to carry out his plans against the settlers beyond the Ohio. It was under this authority that Fort Harmar was afterward erected near the mouth of the Muskingum. (See Harmar to Knox, June 1, 1785, ante, and the notes thereto, as to action of Congress concerning the removal of troops down the Ohio.)

At the commencement of October, Gen. Richard Butler, passing down the Ohio to hold a treaty with the Indians at the mouth of the Miami river, found settlements at intervals on the Indian side of the Ohio from the mouth of Yellow creek to a point well nigh opposite that of the Great Kanawha. Butler did what he could on his downward trip to warn off the persistent settlers, giving orders to one of the army officers who was also to descend the river to the Muskingum, "to pull down every house on his way," some of those recently demolished having already been rebuilt by the determined bordermen.

